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Ukraine's Warheads May Become 'Second Chernobyl'

PM1502210993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Feb 93 p 4

[Viktor Litovkin article: "Second Chernobyl Brewing in Ukraine's Missile Silos"]

[Text] The IZVESTIYA editorial office has received alarming news from units of the Strategic Missile Forces stationed in Ukraine. (As is well known, Ukraine has 176 launch silos with 1,250 nuclear warheads: a total of 130 "old" liquid-fueled SS-24 systems and 46 "new" solid-fueled SS-24 systems. Both systems are MIRVed.)

Specialists of the Strategic Missile Forces Main Staff have yet again inspected the state of nuclear safety of those systems in the missile division stationed in the city of Pervomaysk, Nikolayev Oblast. There are 16 SS-24 missile launchers there on alert status which have overrun the scheduled inspection and maintenance date by 8 to 10 months. Another three missiles on alert status have simply been in a defective condition for two months.

Conditions for the safe storage of nuclear weapons [boyezaryady] have not been provided in the division's storage depots either. The number of warheads in one depot is three to five times above the norm. As a result the radiation background has been exceeded there and now reads almost 1,000 microroentgens per hour, which endangers the life and health of the people servicing the nuclear warheads. Moreover, the schedule for additional technical servicing [mezhreglamentniy grafik tekhnicheskogo obsluzhivaniya] of 26 nuclear warheads on the nose sections of missile systems on alert status has been violated.

"No army in the world has seen such disorder since the appearance of nuclear weapons," I was told by one high-ranking officer, who wished to remain anonymous. "A second Chernobyl is brewing in Ukraine's missile silos, and people should know about it."

I telephoned Colonel General Ivan Oleynik, deputy defense minister of Ukraine, and asked him: "Is what the editorial office has been told true?"

He replied: "I do not comment on rumors."

I then contacted Major General Vladimir Nikitin, deputy commander in chief of the Strategic Missile Forces in charge of the operation of nuclear weapons, and asked him to answer the same question.

"Unfortunately, all that is so," he answered. "I am not a politician, but as a specialist I can say that no one today will be able to give a guarantee of the complete safety of nuclear missiles in Ukraine."

According to experts, this situation arose out of the transfer of administrative command of the Strategic Nuclear Forces in Ukraine to its Armed Forces' leadership. The country assumed the commitments to carry out the full servicing of nuclear weapons and pay all operational expenditure pending a definitive solution of the question of the state affiliation of the nuclear weapons. (At 1992 prices, such a financial operation required at least 200 million rubles [R] per annum). But in practice this has not happened to date.

For example, the control system for the SS-24 missile system (or, more precisely, one of its aiming and guidance systems) can operate without scheduled servicing for more than 30,000 hours, and no more [as published]. After that it must be dismantled and replaced. The system costs around R21 million. It is produced in Kharkov, but the Ukrainian Defense Ministry has simply failed to come up with the requisite funds to pay the plant for the cost of the instruments and servicing under guarantee.

The scheduled servicing date for the aiming and guidance system on 16 launchers expired more than one year ago.

It is a similar story with the technical systems for the protection and defense of missile systems and their launchpads. Only by using such systems can these awesome weapons be reliably protected against undesirable visitors' penetrating the silos and command posts.

These protection systems are also produced in Ukraine, in Kirovograd. But at 20 launchpads in the vicinity of Pervomaysk the defense and protection systems have been defective for around two months. Clearly, the missile division lacks the resources to pay the Kirovograd plant to maintain the system, and the Ukrainian Defense Ministry likewise.

There are problems with checking the nose sections too. Usually, after detachment from the missile airframe, they are placed in a special container and dispatched to the plant where they were assembled, to the actual specialists who made them, or to a depot for storage. During this time the warhead is replaced by an electrical simulator so that all the systems of the unit continue to operate continuously in the prescribed controlled operating mode. The scheduled servicing of the missile itself is carried out at the same time.

But it is now virtually impossible to do this, not just because problems have arisen with transporting a nuclear device across the Ukraine-Russia border—problems which each time provoke long, agonized negotiations, the need to remove vague suspicions, and disputes over the payment of all the operating costs—but also because you cannot install a warhead that has been adjusted and checked on to a strategic missile that has not been serviced at the set times and on which, moreover, the guaranteed service life of many, many systems has expired.

And delay in dispatching each currently scheduled warhead to the plant causes wholesale disruption of the servicing schedules for other nuclear weapons awaiting their turn at storage depots and arsenals. Incidentally, such problems with guaranteeing the nuclear safety of missile systems do not exist in Belarus and Kazakhstan.

How, then, is the nuclear safety of strategic missile systems deployed in Ukraine to be guaranteed and potential calamity averted?

According to Maj. Gen. Nikitin, deputy commander in chief of the Strategic Missile Forces in charge of the operation of missile weapons, after long negotiation with the Ukrainian Defense Ministry it has recently been possible partially to restore supervision of the operation of missile systems deployed in the state by the producer plants and chief designers under guarantees and patents [garantiyniy i avtorskiy nadzor]. Several dozen enterprises in all, 40 percent of them in Russia, including Moscow's Plant Named for Khrunichev, are involved in their servicing.

General Nikitin said that Russian missilemen had managed to find several milllion [rubles] for the most essential work at the Ukraine's launch complexes. Specialists from industry have gone to the military units of Pervomaysk and Khmelnitskiy to put the missile systems into an appropriate state. Admittedly, the general is not absolutely sure that it will be possible to eliminate all the shortcomings in the operation of missile weapons in Ukraine.

"Too much time has been lost," he said. "Certain processes involved in the equipment have become irreversible in nature. The only solution now is to detach immediately the unserviced nose sections and render them and the missiles in a safe state."

Moreover, Gen. Nikitin reported that the Russian Strategic Missile Forces have provided out of their own pretty meager reserves 60 percent of the scarce special materials required to ensure the essential hermetic sealing of the silo launch systems sited in Ukraine and achieve the conditions of temperature and humidity which will preclude any potential shorting in the electrical systems, with its unpredictable consequences.

The Strategic Missile Forces have ordered at a cost of R2.4 million to themselves the requisite number of missile nose-section simulators to ensure that essential monitoring of the good working order of the launch systems is ensured after the warheads have been detached. They have already been manufactured, and some of then have already been dispatched to Ukraine.

Maj. Gen. Nikitin also stated that he cannot accept full responsibility for the technical condition of missile systems deployed in Ukraine, as in the current situation he possesses no real means to change anything fundamentally regarding the maintenance of nuclear safety there. To do that, he said, it is necessary first and foremost to restore the disrupted system governing the operation of strategic missile systems, to bring scheduled servicing into line with the set timetable, and to create the necessary stocks of material resources and replacement instruments and accessories.

"Unfortunately," he said, "not everything depends on the specialists. Politics has come to outweigh nuclear safety for certain politicians."

But, in experts' opinion, the measures which the leadership of the Strategic Missile Forces are taking are hardly adequate. The political will to solve the problem of the Nuclear Missile Forces in Ukraine and their acquisition of specific state affiliation are the most important things needed.

The leadership and the financing of the missile forces should be one and should emanate from a single center. And responsibility for the safety of the Nuclear Missile Forces should be in one pair of hands. Too many cooks spoil the broth.

Spokesman Supports Appeal for More Nuclear Reductions

LD1202145393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1358 GMT 12 Feb 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Staroselskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 12 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—"In principle, we support the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet's appeal for further steps by Russia and the United States to reduce the number of combat nuclear weapons to a level commensurate with the level of the other nuclear powers," Sergey Yastrzhembskiy, director of the Department of Information and Press of the Russian Foreign Ministry, said at a briefing today.

He was replying to a journalist's question about the attitude of the Russian federation foreign political department to the initiative of the Committee for Foreign Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations and the Committee for Questions of Defense and Security in the matter of acceleration nuclear disarmament.

"At the same time, in supporting this idea, which is line with the strategic course of Russian foreign policy, we believe that it would be more expedient to begin discussion of it after the conclusion of the process of ratification of the START II treaty," the Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed.

Black Sea Fleet Commander Opposes Foreign Naval Presence

LD1202134693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1238 GMT 12 Feb 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Sevastopol February 12 TASS—The recently appointed commander of the Black Sea Fleet wants to return the Navy back to the Mediterranean and denounces plans to send allied European naval forces to the Black Sea to control navigation on the Danube and in the straits of Bosporus and Dardanelles.

"The Black Sea Fleet is capable of solving the tasks in the Mediterranean as it used to do before," Vice-Admiral Eduard Baltin told reporters on Friday [12 February] in Sevastopol, the main base of the Black Sea Fleet.

He regretted that the fleet had to abandon the Mediterranean in 1992 after a dispute emerged between Russia and Ukraine on who is possess [as received] the Navy and said that the "vacuum" is being filled in by warships of other states which is detrimental to the traditional interests of Russia in the region.

Baltin expressed concern that a joint French, Spanish and Italian naval force is being created to monitor shipping in the western part of the Black Sea.

"I do not like that, according to foreign press reports, French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas proposes to deploy a group of the allied naval forces in the Black Sea to control shipping along the Danube and in the zone of straits (the Bosporus and the Dardanelles)," the commander said, adding that the force will occupy the place vacated by the Black Sea Fleet.

"If the governments of Russia and Ukraine adopt a decision the Black Sea Fleet is ready to fulfil any task in the western part of the Black Sea, including control over shipping and over the straits," he stressed.

The Black Sea washes the shores of Turkey, Romania, Bulgaria, Ukraine, Russia and Georgia and all issues are to be decided upon agreement with the foreign ministries of those countries, according to Baltin.

"We do not need the help of the navies of France, Spain and Italy," the vice-admiral stressed.

Caucasian Presidents To Meet To Discuss Ending War

NC1102194593 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 11 Feb 93

[Text] Reliable sources have informed a SNARK correspondent in Tbilisi that a meeting between the leaders of the four republics—Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Chechnya—is planned to be held soon.

It is believed that if this meeting is held, Eduard Shevardnadze, Abulfaz Elchibey, Levon Ter-Petrosyan, and Dzhokhar Dudayev will examine terminating the internecine war in the region and the possibility of creating a pan-Caucasian house [tun].

Let us recall that Chechnya leader Dudayev visited both Baku and Yerevan last week.

To Form Troops in Abkhazia

MK1002130493 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Feb 93 p 1

[Igor Kabardin report: "There Will Be No More Freewheeling"]

[Text] Further to an order by Musa Shanibov, the Caucasian Peoples Confederation (CPC) president, steps have been taken to establish a command of CPC troops in Abkhazia, the SEVERNYY KAVKAZ [North Caucasus] newspaper reports. Shamil Basayev, a Chechen volunteer commander, has been appointed commander-in-chief and Amin Zekhov, an Adygey Supreme Soviet deputy, his chief of staff.

The order makes the newly created CPC military command subordinate to the Abkhaz army command. The commander-in-chief has been given the right to promote his servicemen up to the rank of captain.

Chief of Staff Amin Zekhov told a SEVERNYY KAVKAZ correspondent that the formation of CPC troops in Abkhazia would entail a more careful selection of prospective recruits from the North Caucasus republics and from among men already fighting in Abkhazia.

"In the past, we have had some volunteers who pursued their own mercenary interests. In January we expelled 17 people from Abkhazia. Now the lists of CPC combatants will be made public, and the CPC will no longer assume any responsibility for the activities or the social protection of anyone coming here for other purposes," Zekhov told SEVERNYY KAVKAZ.

He also confirmed that there were around 50 members of Chechen communities from Turkey, Syria, and Jordan, and also a large number of Kuban Cossacks fighters among CPC troops.

Answering a question about the strength of the extra volunteer contingent, the chief of staff gave the figure of 300 to 400, but added that it would be up to the president and the CPC command to decide on these matters.

Meanwhile, SEVERNYY KAVKAZ reports, as of the end of January, 81 CPC volunteers have been killed in Abkhazia, including 28 Russians from various regions of Russia, 27 from Chechnya, 13 from Kabardino-Balkaria, four from Ossetia, three from Adygey, three from Karachayevo-Cherkessia, and three Turkish citizens. Another 93 volunteers from the North Caucasian republics were wounded, including 49 from Chechnya, 31 from Kabardino-Balkaria, seven from Ossetia, five from Karachayevo-Cherkessia, and one from Adygey.

EC Plans 400 Technical Projects in Former USSR

LD1202201993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1843 GMT 12 Feb 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Petrenko]

[Text] Moscow February 12 TASS—The European Community plans to carry out 400 small-scale technical projects in former Soviet Republics to help them modernise their telecommunications, transport and other industries, Michael Emerson, EC Commission representative in Moscow, said.

Emerson said special attention will be paid to projects aimed at increasing the safety of nuclear power plants and modernising them, as well as re-training their personnel. To this end, over 10.5 million U.S. dollars will be allocated to Russia alone.

Earlier, the European Community supplied Russia with food products to support lower-income families. They received about 300,000 million U.S. dollars worth of humanitarian aid. Additional 150,000 tonnes of food were shipped to Moscow and St. Petersburg later in the year. Most of it was sold through auctions. Their profits were used to carry out social programmes and purchase medicines.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 13 Feb

LD1302082893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0609 GMT 13 Feb 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow February 13 TASS—By ITAR-TASS:

An all-Russia conference on action to combat organised crime and corruption is the principal topic in today's Moscow-based newspapers. The conference opened here on Friday under the chairmanship of President Boris Yeltsin.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (Red Star), carrying an account of the first day of the conference proceedings, points out in particular that "crime endangers the very security of Russia and there is nowhere to step back any longer."

The newspaper runs full text of Yeltsin's speech at the conference, quoting the president as saying that "crime in Russia has begun to turn into a number one problem. It assumes such proportions and character that already now poses a great danger to the individual and to the entire state."

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA (Independent Newspaper), summing up the first day of the work of the conference, draws a conclusion that remarks by President Yeltsin, Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy, Defence Minister Pavel Grachev and other speakers are indicative of the determination of the leadership of Russia "simultaneously to fight crime and seek to curb inflation."

TRUD runs an interview with Vice-President Rutskoy, raising matters concerning both the economy and politics, the relationships between the vice-president, the president and the leaders of other branches of power in Russia.

Rutskoy voiced confidence that "all the difficulties notwithstanding, Russia will revive as a great power." At the same time he pointed out the need "to avoid abrupt turns in politics and the economy, show more consideration and realism in taking any decisions that determine a further course of reforms in the country. [no closing quotation marks as received]

"The strategy of common sense" is the headline of an interview with President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan in today's SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. He believes that "the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) is a reality which is better than complete and final break-up."

Having evaluated the CIS on the strength of the results of the first year of its existence, Nazarbayev pointed out that "to have a normal alliance, the states should have a common economic and customs space, recognise the rouble as a common currency and jointly to stabilise it and to have a common defence space." This such is a "strategy of common sense" which is prompted by practical experience itself, the president of Kazakhstan maintains.

PRAVDA and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA announce the opening of the second extraordinary restorational-and-unifying congress of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation. SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA reports that "according to data that were available as of 16.00 on Friday, 564 delegates representing 527,000 re-registered Communists arrived to attend the congress."

The critical state of affairs in the sphere of the economic security of the Russian Federation is the subject of an article in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA under the headline "Billions in Emigration."

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, under the headline "the Ambassador of Misfortune," runs excerpts from a book of memoirs by former KGB Chairman Vladimir Kryuchkov. He has written the book during the 18 months of his stay at the Matrosskaya Tishina as one of defendants in connection with "the self-styled emergency committee case." In the excerpts published today, the author makes a political evaluation of the years-long activities of Aleksandr Yakovlev, one of Mikhail Gorbachev's closest associates during the years of perestroyka.

All newspapers, while reporting that the fourth anniversary of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan falls due on February 15, draw attention to the fact that the states that emerged on the territory of the former Soviet Union up to now have not paid serious attention to the destiny of tens of thousands of Afghan war veterans.

"Not a single hope of those who found themselves drawn into a years-long armed struggle in Afghanistan has come true up to now. Moreover, the multinational home of our servicemen who returned to the native land in the memorable year 1989 is engulfed in the flames of new conflicts," PRAVDA writes in particular.

Press Review for 16 Feb

LD1602065093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0531 GMT 16 Feb 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow February 16 TASS—Today's Russian newspapers give prominence to the second extraordinary congress of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, which was held in Moscow region on February 13-14.

"There is Such a Party" is the headline of a report in the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA on the congress proceedings. "The congress has stated the resumption of the activities of a party the name of which is now the Communist Party of the Russian Federation (CPRF) after a one-and-a-half-year ban," the newspaper writes.

"The forum of the communists was attended by 651 delegates with deciding voting power and several dozen ones with deliberative voice from all regions of Russia. They represent about half a million party members who have reregistered after the Constitutional Court lifted the ban on the activity of primary organisations," SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA points out.

"The communists again become the largest party of the country" is the headline of an article in NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA (independent newspaper) which points out that Gennadiy Zyuganov, a co-chairman of the National Salvation Front, has been elected the chairman of the Communist Party's Central Executive Committee. The communists and the national-patriots are drawing closer together organisationally, the newspaper emphasises.

Thus, a step towards the revival of the party of Russian communists has been made, PRAVDA concludes. "The congress has been held legally, in accordance with the political rights of the citizens of our state and in line with the decision of the Constitutional Court of Russia," the newspaper stresses.

PRAVDA believes that "that was only a successful start. The point now is to consolidate the success: to ensure active day-to-day work of communists both at the places of their residence, in work collectives and in councils."

ROSSIISKAYA GAZETA, analysing the documents adopted by the congress, writes: "Communist leaders have now learned to say 'confederation,' rather frequently mention a new slogan 'Socialism and Market are Compatible' and almost without disgust 'Uphold Democracy.' This is already a new vocabulary. The only remaining expression from the Bolshevist phraseology is the proud 'We represent the hired working people.'"

"What is the novelty of the party?" asks TRUD. "Maybe, in adherence to socialism or in the non-acceptance of a private ownership of land? If one is to proceed from the documents adopted at the congress, the principles of the communists have remained the same," the newspaper concludes.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA reports that alternative roundtable meetings of political parties and movements have taken place in the capital to discuss the issue concerning a referendum on the fundamentals of a new constitution of Russia.

At the roundtable meeting at the parliamentary centre, those present stated that it is inadvisable to hold a referendum. Roundtable participants in the mayor's office, including representatives of the Democratic Russia movement and alternative trade unions, distanced themselves from the "Khasbulatov- Chernomyrdin roundtable meeting," stating that those activities would not serve the process of social concord.

Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, in an interview with NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, set out the basic orientations of Russia's policy in the Balkans. He said Russia is in need of a balanced policy which would give up an "unquestioning support for only one of Slavic peoples against all the rest in Yugoslavia and, besides, on a religious basis."

TRUD reports the emergence of a new seat of tension in the Transcaucasus. The newspaper writes about an aggravation of the situation in Adzharia, an autonomous republic within Georgia.

It follows from a statement by Adzharian Parliament Chief Aslan Abashidze that the republic is faced with the threat of an attack by Georgia. The Adzharian leader cited "numerous examples confirming information about the preparation of sabotage and terrorist acts against the autonomous republic," TRUD reports.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA announces that a decision to convene the 24th congress of the Young Communist League (YCL) has been taken on the initiative of the YCL Central Control Commission. The congress is to be held in April this year.

No Differences Expected in Yeltsin-Clinton Relationship

OW1202135793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1336 GMT 12 Feb 93

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature; following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Speaking about Russian-American relations, Dmitriy Ryurikov said that both the Russian and the U.S. presidents would like to meet soon. The date and place of the summit are expected to be set in Geneva on February 25 by Russia's Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher. "I'm convinced that Boris Yeltsin and Bill Clinton will instantly establish a solid working relationship. No differences in approaches to various problems, which is normal in international practice, will complicate this relationship," said Ryurikov.

He also announced that the recently set up interdepartmental foreign policy commission of the Russian Federation's Security Council, led by Yuriy Skokov, has not held any sessions yet. The first such session is likely to take place soon, he said.

U.S. Envoy on Yugoslav Settlement Visits

PM1202212593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Feb 93 p 3

[Report by Maksim Yusin: "Reginald Bartholomew Flies To Moscow"]

[Text] Moscow is the first capital to be visited by U.S. Ambassador to NATO Reginald Bartholomew since the announcement two days ago of his appointment as Washington's special representative at the talks on a peaceful settlement in the former Yugoslavia.

Bartholomew's visit began at 1400 hours Friday [12 February] and is expected to last until Sunday. There has been no official announcement of a meeting with Boris Yeltsin, but informed sources in the Foreign Ministry confirmed that it was very likely that there would be one. Moreover, the U.S. diplomat will hold talks with Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and his deputy, Vitaliy Churkin, who oversees the Balkan area.

The aim of the trip is to coordinate Russian and U.S. efforts on the Yugoslav question. Despite the fact that Moscow welcomed Bill Clinton's "Balkan initiative," differences remain between the two countries' approaches. In a confidential conversation a senior foreign ministry staffer intimated that Secretary of State Warren Christopher's proposal on "involving" Russia in a Yugoslav settlement had caused surprise in Moscow: "We do not need to get involved when we have been involved for a long time already. The Balkan area was and still is a priority for Russian foreign policy. Only now have the Americans decided to appoint a special representative for Yugoslavia, whereas we did that back in August." The reference is to Vitaliy Churkin, who, as the Russian leadership's special representative, has been to Belgrade, Zagreb, Skopje, Athens, and Tirana and has met in Geneva with representatives of the opposing Bosnian groupings.

Following the Americans' institution of the post, hard on Russia's heels, the Foreign Ministry expects to see close cooperation between the two special representatives. The details will be discussed during the U.S. diplomat's talks in Moscow. We know already that Churkin and Bartholomew will participate in the New York meeting of the leaders of the Bosnian Serbs, Croats, and Muslims on 17 February.

Kozyrev Comments on Meeting

OW1302150593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1454 GMT 13 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] There are no disagreements between Russia and the United States, at least no political ones, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev told Interfax after a meeting with the U.S. President's special envoy for settlement in the former Yugoslavia, Reginald Bartholomew. Kozyrev said he met Bartholomew at the instruction of Russian President Boris Yeltsin, who was himself unable to meet the American diplomat.

"We made a thorough analysis of the state of affairs in the former Yugoslavia and agreed to work together to achieve a just and balanced settlement in Bosnia-Hercegovina," the Foreign Minister said. He voiced satisfaction over Bartholomew's participation in these efforts. On Russia's behalf the implementation of the Vance-Owen [plan] will be handled by a special presidential envoy, Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin.

Bartholomew said his visit to Moscow shows what importance is attached in Washington to cooperation with Russia in the multinational efforts to surmount the Yugoslavian crisis. He described his Moscow meeting as "very, very positive." "Our positions coincide on the main issues," Bartholomew said, explaining that he had in mind that the United States and Russia have similar views on the possible consequences of the conflict and agree that urgent measures are needed to settle it.

Deputies Reject New Sanctions

OW1302172393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1701 GMT 13 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Reginald Bartholomew, the U.S. President's special envoy for Yugoslavia, on Saturday met members of the Russian parliament. As the Chairman of the parliamentary Committee for International Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations, Yevgeniy Abmartsumov, told INTERFAX, Bartholomew was given the entire range of opinions on the Yugoslavian problem existing in the Russian parliament. "It was made clear to him that the

Russian parliament will never consent to further sanctions against Serbia, and will be insisting on attempts to solve all the problems peacefully, by negotiation," Ambartsumov said.

The Chairman of the parliamentary Defense and Security Committee, Sergey Stepashin, said it was very important that the U.S. envoy was, at the very beginning of his mission, given not only the Foreign Ministry's official position but various opinions voiced in parliament. In an interview with INTERFAX, Stepashin did not exclude the possibility of armed force being used to settle the Yugoslavian conflict. "I am categorically against the idea of getting NATO involved in the conflict, but, if the Security Council or the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe decide to have some of the NATO forces involved, under the tight control of the Security Council and under its flag, it will be a different matter," he said.

Stepashin said Bartholomew agreed with some Russian MPs that the same kind of international sanctions should be applied against Croatia as against Serbia due to the former's aggression against Serbian Krajna.

Churkin Foresees Fruitful Cooperation

OW1502153893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1518 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Report by diplomatic correspondents Andrey Borodin, Dimitry Voskoboynikov, Igor Porshnev, and others; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature—item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] During his conversation with an INTERFAX correspondent on Monday, deputy Russian Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin said that the negotiations devoted to settling the situation in former Yugoslavia are at a critical juncture. According to this senior diplomat, the situation is as follows now: it is necessary either to reach further agreement on the Vance-Owen plan and to then implement it immediately after adoption, or to be ready for the conflict in Bosnia and Hercegovina to escalate.

Upon invitation from the co-chairmen of the Geneva conference on settling the situation in former Yugoslavia, in the near future Churkin, as a special representative of the Russian President, will depart for New York to participate in tripartite negotiations on the Bosnian conflict (Bosnian Serbs, Muslims and Croatians are to participate in the negotiations - INTERFAX). He is convinced that "additional efforts and support of Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen are needed" to solve the issues and he is ready for this.

The deputy of the Russian Foreign Ministry said that as a result of negotiations with special U.S. envoy Reginald Bartholomew, he made the following conclusion: "We can fruitfully cooperate with the Americans. It is important that we and they believe that we should cooperate in the framework of the program developed by the two co-chairmen but not to change what they have already accomplished in any manner." Churkin pointed out that now the relations between the Russian Foreign Ministry and Russian parliament have "greatly improved" and today legislators better understand what diplomats are preoccupied with, including the efforts undertaken with respect to Yugoslavia. He expressed regret that the Friday session of parliament did not adopt a draft address on Yugoslavia proposed by the parliamentary committee on international and foreign economic relations. "This address would actually support our course and those processes which are taking place at the negotiations now," the deputy minister underlined.

But Churkin is not inclined to dramatize the situation. In his words, if the parliament does not support the policy pursued during the last period of time and which, as he thinks, is rather fruitful, at least it will not create problems on the way to its implementation." Churkin believes that support on the part of deputies can be reflected not only in adoption of these or those addresses but in negotiations held by members of parliament with representatives of other countries. "Now I do not worry about what role our Supreme Soviet will play in comparison with the role it had, say, two months ago," said he.

Parliament on Friday [12 February] previewed not only the draft Supreme Soviet address but also the draft resolution on a settlement in the former Yugoslavia formulated by deputies from the "Rossiya" fraction. If this resolution is passed Russia must immediately back down from sanctions on Serbia and Montenegro. The document includes a number of other rigid new proposals, including charges of impartiality against the West. Yuriy Voronin, parliament's deputy speaker, has suggested merging the draft address and resolution into one document.

"I am not willing to state what the result will be or whether in fact the two drafts can be combined to form a single document," Churkin told INTERFAX. "Some individuals, including members of parliament, are for some reason unable to understand that there are some tunes which cannot be played on a drum," he commented. Elaborating on this metaphor the deputy minister said that "if a tune must be played, then at least one must listen to how it is played. If only a drum-beat is necessary, then that is another matter. I consider that there are no big issues or disputes about the tune in question. But please no body give us only a drum on which to play it."

Churkin Briefs Envoys

LD1602125093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1000 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] Moscow, 16 Feb— Vitaliy Churkin, Russian Federation deputy foreign minister and the Russian President's special representative at the Yugoslav peace talks, had separate meeting on Monday with the ambassadors of the French Republic, Pierre Morel, and of Great Britain, Sir Brian Fall, as well as with Dusan Lavic.

temporary charge d'affaires of the Federated Republic of Yugoslavia, and advised them of the contents of the conversation between Russian Federation Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and U.S. special envoy Reginald Bartholomew.

Churkin Meets With Visiting Bosnian Officials

LD1302142093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1335 GMT 13 Feb 93

[Text] Moscow, 13 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—A detailed exchange of views on matters connected with a package of agreements on a Bosnian settlement took place today between Russia's Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin, the Russian special representative at the talks on the former Yugoslavia, and Ejup Ganic, member of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidium, and Miro Lazovic, president of the republic's parliament.

The Russian side noted that there is no reasonable alternative to a peaceful political resolution of the conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina and that the plan of Cyrus Vance and David Owen, the cochairmen of the conference on the former Yugoslavia, is a real basis for this.

Bosnians Hold News Conference

LD1302160793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1537 GMT 13 Feb 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Polovko]

[Text] Moscow February 13 TASS—The division of Bosnia-Hercegovina on ethnic principle is impossible and insecure for the future of Europe and the whole world, representatives of the Bosnia-Hercegovina leadership told a news conference here today.

An official delegation from Bosnia-Hercegovina to include members of the republican presidium Ejup Ganic and Tatjana Lazovic and head of the Bosnian Parliament Miro Lazovic arrived in Moscow on Friday to explain Russian representatives the Sarajevo stand on Yugoslav settlement.

The delegation met members of the Russian parliamentary committee on foreign policy and its chairman Yevgeniy Ambartsumov, and had negotiations with Deputy Russian Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin.

Delegation members on the whole expressed satisfaction with the negotiations and the fact they managed to convey to the Russian side their stand on settlement in former Yugoslavia.

In the words of Ganic, the Bosnian leadership cannot fully accept the settlement plan offered by Vance and Owen. In particular, official Sarajevo is against the part of the plan envisaging the division of Bosnia-Hercegovina into ten provinces.

This approach, in the opinion of the republican leadership, may lead to ethnic cleansings on territories of these provinces and even more deteriorate the conflict. Sarajevo has essential remarks on the plan section, envisaging the withdrawal of heavy armaments from Bosnia-Hercegovina. In the words of Ganic, plan measures do not guarantee the establishment of an efficient control over these arms and the exclusion of their repeated use in the conflict.

Delegation members positively estimated the arrival in Moscow of a special envoy of the U.S. President and his negotiations with the Russian side on the Yugoslav settlement. Lazovic stressed without Russian and U.S. participation, conflict in former Yugoslavia can hardly be solved.

Envoy Says Russia Ready To Cooperate With U.S. Over Bosnia

LD1202223593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2157 GMT 12 Feb 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Sitnikov]

[Text] United Nations February 13 TASS—Russia is ready for active cooperation with the United States in settling the Bosnian problem, Russian Ambassador to the United Nations Yuliy Vorontsov said on Friday [12 February].

The announcement was made at a session of the U.N. Security Council which also discussed a report by Madeleine Albright explaining the U.S. position on the conflict settlement in Bosnia- Hercegovina made by U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher.

The Russian Federation welcomes the new U.S. Administration joining peace efforts of Co-chairmen of the Coordinating Committee of the International Conference on Former Yugoslavia Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen to settle the conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Vorontsov said.

"We are satisfied that a pause in the American participation in these efforts is over and will be ready for active cooperation with the U.S. in supporting the co-chairmen's efforts. To this end, a special Russian representative will soon arrive in New York," Vorontsov said.

"We hope that a productive dialogue and fruitful cooperation at the upcoming stage will accelerate work on the package of Vance-Owen agreements in order to reach accord between all sides and sign these agreements," Vorontsov said.

"The Russian delegation believes that meanwhile the U.N. Security Council should give a clear signal that it will not tolerate military actions and further bloodshed on all fronts in former Yugoslavia, since no 'military alternatives' to the peace process exist. Neither there is a possibility of a 'parallel' negotiation line to the Vance-Owen process," Vorontsov said.

He said Russia is determined to promote the common stand and support U.N. and EC efforts aimed at reaching settlement acceptable for all sides.

Kozyrev Urges Balanced Yugoslav Policy

MK1602072193 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Feb 93 p 1

[Report on interview with Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev by Vera Kuznetsova; place and date not given: "Only a Balanced Policy. Russian Foreign Minister Is Against Supporting One Side in the Yugoslav Crisis"]

[Text] Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said in an interview for NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA: "We welcome the fact that the new U.S. Administration is apparently moving further and further away from an unrealistic case for the use of force in resolving the Yugoslav conflict. It simply is not possible to use force there."

The minister assessed the American position as de facto alignment with the Vance-Owen plan. "I am glad," Kozyrev stressed, "that America's Mr. Bartholomew has now aligned himself with our special envoy Mr. Churkin."

As for the Russian stance on the Yugoslav crisis (whether it could be radically changed by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet), Andrey Kozyrev does not think it will come to that. "I hope," he observed, "that there is a sensible majority in parliament which realizes that we can only pursue a balanced policy in Yugoslavia." The minister also hopes that there will not be "blind support for just one of the Slav peoples (the Serbs) against all the rest in Yugoslavia, and furthermore solely on grounds of religion—Orthodoxy." "If that kind of demagogic patriotism is to prevail in Russia," Kozyrev warned, "it will lead to the disintegration of Russia itself. It would be monstrous if Tatarstan or Bashkortostan, for instance, were to feel that Russia aligns itself with a single religious and ethnic group—first in foreign policy, and then what?.. Such a policy would split the CIS too. And in relation to the Serbs it would be a betrayal—we would be pushing them over the precipice of war."

On sanctions against Serbia, the minister observed that certain Supreme Soviet factions may have been using the parliamentary discussion of the crisis in Yugoslavia to demonstrate that they are in step while the rest of the world is out of step. To comment on the formal aspect, in this instance talks are conducted by the executive (by virtue of the division of powers). And another formal point: The Yugoslav parliament (the FRY is now Serbia plus Montenegro) has not yet appealed to the Russian parliament.

U.S. Said Relying on Diplomacy in Yugoslavia

PM1602091593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Feb 93 pp 1, 3

[Aleksandr Shalnev report: "Conflict in Yugoslavia: United States Counting on the Force of Diplomacy"]

[Text] Washington—On Wednesday, U.S. President Bill Clinton announced his first major foreign policy decision since coming to power, and it proved to be completely different from what what had been expected by those who had listened too carefully to the promises by candidate Clinton.

Contrary to these promises, Washington is not prepared or inclined to use military force now to resolve the problems of the former Yugoslavia. Clinton is now counting primarily on the force of diplomacy.

The strategy and tactics of the Clinton administration's Yugoslav policy was expounded by Secretary of State Warren Christopher, and not the President himself, which is also noteworthy: According to the old tradition, presidents avoid "coming out to the people" with decisions that do not strengthen their "image" by 100 percent.

The key provision of the Clinton plan is active adherence by the United States to the negotiating process which David Owen and Cyrus Vance have been conducting for many months now, and which literally a few days ago was evoking serious doubts and even criticism in official Washington. The post of a U.S. representative at the talks is being created especially for this purpose; the present U.S. Ambassador to NATO Reginald Bartholomew has been appointed to it, and one of his first actions will be a visit to Moscow for consultations with Boris Yeltsin.

On Wednesday morning Washington time, Clinton spoke to the Russian president over the telephone. According to Christopher, the president appealed to the Kremlin leader "with a personal wish that both countries should work closely and collaborate in seeking a peace settlement" in the former Yugoslavia.

Given that Clinton's plan envisages, as a measure of pressure, toughening up UN sanctions against Serbia, and that Washington has noticed with some alarm the recent shifts in Moscow's position concerning the sanctions, it is not hard to size up what will be one of the strategic aims of Bartholomew's trip to Moscow.

The explanations of the secretary of state make it clear that by joining in the negotiating process, the United States is counting on reaching fairly quickly an agreement which will be acceptable to all sides.

If and when an agreement is drawn up, the United States will be prepared to give some thought to military backup for it, but only on condition that the use of forces will be the last remaining means of putting the agreement into practice. How will military backup be implemented? Will ground forces be used, for instance? Christopher did not want to talk about this.

What he did say fairly categorically, however, was that Clinton's plan does not envisage lifting the embargo on supplies of weapons to the Bosnians. "We did consider that option," the secretary of state reported, "but then we decided not to do that. Following consultations with our allies, it became clear that France, Britain, and Canada believe that their forces there will come up against even greater danger if we lift the embargo."

Other provisions of Clinton's plans include the creation of a tribunal under the United Nations, which would deal with war crimes in the former Yugoslavia, and the adoption of measures to ensure uninterrupted supplies of humanitarian aid. Christopher refused to give a specific answer to the question of what measures are at stake, however. He only stressed the following: "We have not ruled out the fact that very resolute steps may be taken."

It is interesting that, when he was explaining why Clinton has deviated sharply from the position he held when he was a presidential candidate and when he insisted on very resolute and tough steps in the former Yugoslavia, Christopher alluded to the fact that the situation has changed since then. If, he stressed, the West had not lost the opportunities it was given, and if the West had operated efficiently, then the intensification of the conflict could have been prevented and aggression and bloodshed could have been averted.

But since the conflict has intensified, the problem of choosing ways of resolving it has become incomparably more difficult, the head of the Department of State said.

Thus, according to custom, the present administration has laid responsibility for the fact that the pre-election promises are not being fulfilled at the door of the previous administration.

Serbia To Test Russian Diplomacy, Democracy

PM1602092193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Feb 93 p 8

["Editorial Viewpoint" article: "Withstanding the Serbian Test"]

[Text] For more than a year now the world community has been building up forces to repulse war in Central Europe. Troops and arms have encircled the former Yugoslavia. The staffs are working out scenarios for combat operations in a country renowned for its intractability. The wisest politicians are seeking scenarios that do not involve bloodshed, or involve little bloodshed, which sounds more realistic amid the horror of the long war.

The election of a new U.S. President has indeed brought the plans closer to being implemented. Bill Clinton is abandoning his recent waverings. In a few weeks the United States may quite probably be ready to lead a coalition to put a military end to the war.

That moment will be a very important test of Russian democracy. Russians' feelings of historical community with Serbia are enduring and evocative, and go back centuries. What is more, these feelings have been skillfully fanned to the pitch of hysteria by forces in opposition to the Russian Government.

However, one must not forget that Russian citizens are not only Russians, and that millions of our Muslims feel a natural sense of solidarity with their coreligionists in Bosnia.

For objective reasons the Russian public (and possibly ruling circles too) lacks a sufficiently rounded view of events in the former Yugoslavia. Our mass media are now extremely poor, and reporting from the combat zone is a very costly business. That is why we primarily publish Western photographs, use Western video material on television, and the text read by the announcer is most often based on Western news agency reports.

All that creates a complex backdrop for Russia's Yugoslav policy. Arguments about "Russia's national interests," which imply vigorous opposition to the West, are being heard increasingly frequently and increasingly loudly. Even some moderate politicians are willing to measure the successes of our diplomacy by the yardstick of "fraternal" Serb interests. The old imperial logic has not lost the art of donning an appealing guise.

The growing force and staunchness of Russian diplomacy will be tested in Serbia. As will the stability of Russian democracy also. If our representatives are able to entirely suppress their imperial nostalgia, if they can rise above transitory political squabbling, and if they serve human rights rather than community of religion or alphabet, the world community's confidence in our country will increase.

This confidence is important, but nonetheless secondary. The main point is that only orientation to fundamental democratic values will help Russia to serve more correctly the interests of all the peoples of Yugoslavia, including the fraternally dear Serbs.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman on Yugoslav Crisis

LD1202180093 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1430 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Text] Sergey Yastrzhembskiy, director of the Press and Information Department of the Russian Foreign Ministry, held a regular briefing today for journalists on current issues of international policy. Our observer Andrey Ptashnikov reports on the most important and interesting highlights.

[Ptashnikov] This briefing can be seen as clearly divided into two parts. One of them, obviously the longer one, dealt with the current crisis in the former Yugoslavia and

Russia's position on this. The second part dealt with miscellaneous issues, as we say.

First, on the second part. Sergey Yastrzhembskiy spoke about the results of the visit to Baghdad by Russian Foreign Ministry representatives. Its main aim was to continue the Russian-Iraqi diplomatic dialogue. In the course of the visit, Russia reiterated its firm policy envisaging the unswerving fulfillment by Iraq of all decisions and resolutions of the UN Security Council. According to Yastrzhembskiy, the Iraqi officials have been told clearly that the key to normalizing the situation in the region is in Baghdad.

Journalists were also briefed on the content of the bilateral consultations held in Moscow between representatives of the Russian Foreign Ministry and their counterparts from Spain and Romania. As I have already said, however, attention at the briefing focused mainly on the current situation in the former Yugoslavia—in particular, the visit to Moscow that started today by Bartholomew, the U.S. President's special envoy at the talks on settling the conflict in former Yugoslavia. This is what Yastrzhembskiy said:

[Begin Yastrzhembskiy recording] We welcome Mr. Bartholomew's mission. We see in it a favorable opportunity for direct involvement by the new U.S. Administration in the peaceful efforts by Co-chairmen Vance and Owen, Russia, and European countries to settle the conflict in Bosnia-Herzogovina. I hope that there will be a productive dialogue and efficient cooperation between Churkin, the Russian president's special representative, who has been taking direct part in the settlement process for several months, and Mr. Bartholomew, which will speed up the work on the package of Vance-Owen agreements and bring them closer to signing.

In this connection we wish to tell you that, on 17 February, at the invitation of Cyrus Vance, the Russian special representative will take part in the New York round of talks on the crisis. [end recording]

[Ptashnikov] Yastrzhembskiy was asked about the possibility of removing and limiting the currently existing international sanctions against the former Yugoslavia. This is the answer to this question.

[Begin Yastrzhembskiy recording] We do not rule out, we even regard as a positive step the beginning of the practical implementation, following the signing, of course, of the package of the agreements prepared by the co-chairmen, and the gradual removal of restrictions and sanctions imposed against the FRY. It is even possible to set up a certain kind of a calendar—we spoke about this—for the removal of the sanctions to ensure progress in the implementation of the accord in and around Bosnia-Herzegovina. [end recording]

[Ptashnikov] These are the most interesting issues which were raised during today's briefing at the Russian Foreign Ministry.

Yastrzhembsky Reports on Official's Talks in Baghdad

OW1202170993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1651 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Director of the Russian Foreign Ministry's Information and Press Department, Sergey Yastrzhembsky has described as timely the Russian-Iraqi consultations in Baghdad earlier this week. He said at a briefing on Friday [12 February] that Deputy Chief of the Middle East Department Igor Melikhov had met with Deputy Prime Minister Tariq 'Aziz and Iraqi Foreign Ministry officials.

Yastrzhembsky said Russia had confirmed its position in favour of Iraq's full and unconditional compliance with all UN Security Council resolutions concerning the post-crisis settlement in the Persian Gulf area. The Iraqi leaders were told that the key to normalization were in Baghdad's hands.

The Russian Foreign Ministry official said that Russian-Iraqi relations were discussed in Baghdad only in general terms. "As bilateral relations were discussed, the Russian official linked that problem with progress in Iraq's implementation of the world community's resolutions", Yastrzhembsky said.

Abu Dhabi Fair Offers Opening to World Arms Market

PM1602141593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Feb 93 p 3

[Lieutenant Colonel Valentin Rudenko article: "Will We Be Able To Compete on the Arms Market?"]

[Text] It is true to say that sooner or later life puts everything in its place. And we too have come to realize that the modern arms trade is certainly not an immoral occupation, provided, of course, it is carried out in line with international norms and rules. But from the economic point of view, which is particularly topical for us at the moment, it is still an extremely lucrative business. A kilogram of combat aviation hardware, for example, costs some $2,000 on the world market, whereas the same amount of motor vehicle hardware costs $10-15. The cost of the latter, less technologically advanced output, which is, to put it simply, for mass consumption, is of a lower order.

The reality, however, is that the proportion represented by arms and combat hardware exported by Russia has steadily declined in recent years and now stands not at the former 38 percent, but at just 17 percent of the world level. Let us note that the U.S. share has risen from 30 to 58 percent over this period. It is therefore obvious why our defense enterprises are attaching such emphasis and importance to the international arms and military hardware exhibition in Abu Dhabi, capital of the United Arab Emirates, which opens 14 February.

"From the point of view of the arms models and systems being exhibited, this exhibition will be one of the biggest," Viktor Glukhikh, chairman of the Committee for the Defense Sectors of Russian Federation Industry, noted at a meeting with journalists. "Russian arms, including 370 of the most up-to-date systems designed for military use with a mainly ground and naval theme, will be worthily represented in all three sections of the exhibition—on the testing range, the demonstration area, and the exhibition pavilion itself which occupies more than 1,500 square meters. The program has been designed in such a way that everyone who shows an interest in our arms will be able to see them in action and compare them with similar Western models. The combat application of surface-to-air missile complexes, close-range combat weapons, firearms, and other weapons will be demonstrated at a specially equipped testing range. [no closing quotation marks as received]

Viktor Glukhikh, together with leading national weapons designers who also took part in the press conference, including Boris Bunkin, director of the "Almaz" Science and Production Association; Anatoliy Obukhov, director of the "Bazalt" Science and Production Association; Arkadiy Shipunov, director of the "Mashinostroyeniye" Science and Production Association; Mikhail Kalashnikov, director of the "Izhmash" Science and Production Association; and others, laid particular emphasis on the fact that the arms we are offering are basically defensive and belong to the category of precision-guided systems for striking air, sea, and ground targets. There is no doubt that the S-300 PMU-1 and S-300 V surface-to-air missile systems, the "Konkurs," "Metis," "Tochka U," "Tor," "Krasnopol," and "Smerch" weapons systems, the T-80 tank with diesel and gas-turbine engines, and other weapons will arouse lively interest in those attending the exhibition.

"The current exhibition is not saber rattling, as we liked to say before, but the first real steps toward the market in the sphere of arms and combat hardware," Mikhail Timofeyevich Kalashnikov, designer of the world's most popular firearm, believes.

Assault rifles bearing the Kalashinkov name are currently to be found in 55 countries of the world, they are mass produced by a whole range of foreign firms, but Russia gets nothing from this. Can this be fair?

The arms trade is a subtle thing which in many respects we have still not got to grips with. And in this sense the exhibition promises to provide good training for both the enterprises that manufacture weapons and combat hardware and those in our state who are empowered to trade them. In Abu Dhabi the middleman concluding the trade deals will be the all-Russian "Oboroneskport" Association, a Russian state foreign economic association for exporting products and services for military use.

It is intended to substantially improve the actual arms trade system as well. Proposals to this end have already been submitted to the Russian Government and president, Viktor Glukhikh announced.

One of the obstacles in the way of arms trading was the problem of servicing and maintenance, and the incompatibility of our calibers with Western ones. At the present exhibition buyers will be offered not just the weapons themselves, but also full servicing. If a client so requests, defense enterprises are prepared to undertake the necessary finishing work, adapt caliber to a Western measurement, and provide the weapons systems with the sort of features the buyer would like to see.

And so the exhibition opens the day after tomorrow. In duelling encounters on the testing range and the exhibition demonstration areas, Russian industrialists and military men from the Army and Navy will uphold the right of our national combat hardware to feature in a competitive environment and its entitlement to a worthy place in the arms market. We would like to hope that they will return home from the exhibition winners and not losers.

Grachev, Others Arrive

LD1302143293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1407 GMT 13 Feb 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Lebedev]

[Text] Abu Dhabi February 13 TASS—Russian Defence Minister Army General Pavel Grachev arrived here today on a visit.

As head of a Russian official delegation, the minister will attend the opening of the international defensive armaments show. The exhibition, in which about 150 Russian defence plants will show over 350 armament types, will open here tomorrow and last through February 18. Over 30 countries participate in the show. The British minister of state, Ministry of Defence (defence procurement), the Iranian and Yemen ministers of defence, deputy defence ministers of South Africa and Romania and representatives of the defence ministries of China and the Netherlands have also arrived in the UAE capital today.

Defense Industry Official on Arms Sales to Arab States

LD1302163593 Moscow Radio Moscow in Arabic 1400 GMT 13 Feb 93

[Passages within quotation marks are recorded in Russian fading into superimposed Arabic translation]

[Text] Dear listeners, the Russian economy's shift to the free market economy is opening new horizons in the establishment of cooperation based on mutual interests with other countries, including the Arab countries, even in the domains which are usually closed to foreign countries, such as the defense sector. Our correspondent

Nikolay [name indistinct] talked to Gennadiy Yampolskiy, deputy chairman of the Russian Federation's committee for defense industry branches. Our correspondent asked if the Arab countries are showing any interest in cooperation with factories of the defense branches in Russia.

Yampolskiy said: The Arab countries want Russia to sell them arms. On the other hand, should the arms be sold to them, a question arises about cooperation in the use of these arms. The correspondent asked him what arms and what countries are being talked about.

[Yampolskiy] "We are dealing with the Arab countries in many directions. Talk revolves in particular round the various types of defensive armaments, especially air defense systems. The United Arab Emirates, Qatar, and other Arab countries have shown interest in our products, and exports are being discussed. The Arabs also show interest in Russian high-precision arms. Cooperation with them is not limited to buying and selling; the Arab countries are also interested in our antitank and antimissile systems. However, all this is still in a preparatory phase, and we could not say that definite orders have been obtained. Talk revolves right now round the discussion process. Once we receive orders, we would then talk about the joint use of our armaments."

Yampolskiy, in his talk with our correspondent, did not conceal that the Russian defense factories want to receive orders. He considers the Gulf region countries to be among the Arab countries with money. Yampolskiy said we are industrialists, not politicians. We are ready to export arms to this region when the government makes a political decision to this effect. [passage omitted]

We touch now upon issues such as the possibility of joint action. We should consider this issue in a wide sense, not only from the angle of joint action but of attracting Arab capital to be employed in our defense industry. Would this be possible?

[Yampolskiy] "The Arabs will not employ their capital in our defense industries, I am sure of this. However, they could help us in the process of transforming military production into civilian production, and this would naturally be to their benefit. It would be possible for instance to employ Arab capital to transform the production of some defense factories into the production of agricultural machinery. We would of course be grateful should anyone make such proposals. However, and much to our regret, there are no such proposals from the Arab countries. Furthermore, it would not be realistic to employ Arab capital in the manufacture of new armaments. Besides, it is unlikely that our legislators would allow such investment projects, and we do not have such a plan. The only thing we can rely upon in the near future is the creation of joint services."

Israeli Ambassador Notes Readiness for Compromise

LD1502113393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1115 GMT 15 Feb 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow February 15 TASS—The Israeli Government is ready for compromise with Arab partners in the Middle East settlement as power methods of solving the conflict yield no benefits for either side, according to Israeli ambassador in Moscow.

Hayim Bar-Lev told a press conference on Monday that most people, including Israelis and Arabs, want to solve the Middle East conflict by peaceful means as the existing situation is not beneficial to either of the parties. Attempts to solve the conflict by force did not and will not lead to peace in the Middle East.

Neither Israel, nor the Arabs can impose a peaceful settlement by force. "Unless each of the parties is ready for compromise there will be no peace", the ambassador said.

Bar-Lev is sure that the peaceful negotiations will continue and common sense will lead both parties to a political settlement of the problem. "Peace will not come tomorrow, there will be obstacles on its way, sometimes it will be necessary to get back, but the process will continue", he added.

The ambassador criticised plans to create a Palestinian state today and qualified them as "a very bad solution" of the problem both for Israelis and Palestinians.

It is not acceptable for Israel as there are groups of Palestinians who openly reject the political solution of the problem and stand for an armed confrontation. The presence of such groups in a neighbouring state threatens Israeli security, the ambassador said.

The solution is "very bad" for Palestinians also because the creation of such a state will split one people into citizens of two countries, according to Bar-Lev, who added that only half of Palestinians currently live on the West Bank while the other half lives in Jordan. The ambassador believes that the best way is to establish a self-governed autonomy for five years on which an agreement was reached during the Madrid meeting.

Bar-Lev characterised the Russian role in the Middle East as "very constructive". In contrast to the former Soviet Union, Russia, as a co-chair of the Middle East peaceful negotiations, maintains relations not only with Arab states, but with Israel as well, he said adding that Russia is an "honest broker" of peace.

Views Arms Sales to Arabs

OW1502114793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1048 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Israeli Ambassador to Moscow, Hayim Bar-Lev, said that his country "does not take particular pleasure from the fact that the United States, Russia or anybody else supplies weapons to Arab countries." He made this statement after a briefing at the Moscow International Press Center in response to a question on Russia's participation in an international weapons trade fair in Abu Dhabi from one of our correspondents during an INTERFAX interview.

"We hope that if weapons are sold to Arabs, Russia will very precisely" keep to the limit between offensive and defensive weapons. If defensive weapons are sold, "this is only half a problem for Israel," the ambassador said.

DPRK Ambassador Rejects IAEA Plan To Monitor Sites

LD1602120693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1805 GMT 15 Feb 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Krylovich and Vladimir Suprun]

[Text] Moscow, 15 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—The DPRK rejects the International Atomic Energy Agency's [IAEA] intention to carry out a special inspection of two military installations on its territory. If such a decision is nonetheless taken, Pyongyang reserves the right to take corresponding countermeasures. This was announced today by Son Song-pil, DPRK ambassador in Moscow, at a news conference here for Russian journalists.

In his words, the emergency session of the IAEA Board of Governors which opens on 18 February plans to examine the question of carrying out a special inspection of these installations, where nuclear processing waste is allegedly stored in underground bunkers. The DPRK regards this approach as inappropriate for a number of reasons. Son Song-pil said the main reason ias that these installations are not nuclear, and therefore are not subject to IAEA monitoring.

The North Korean side also has serious doubts about the data submitted as grounds for carrying out the inspection, because, in the view of the ambassador, they originated from U.S. intellegence services. Finally, Pyongyang cannot allow the results of inspections on the country's territory to be used in the interest of "third countries," which would contravene agreements concluded between the DPRK and the IAEA.

"Consent for inspecting non-nuclear installations would imply our readiness to reveal all our military secrets, which is absolutely inadmissible in terms of ensuring the country's national interests," the ambassador emphasized.

Asked by an ITAR-TASS correspondent what countermeasures Pyongyang might take if the IAEA goes ahead and adopts that decision, Son Song-pil did not rule out the possibility of abrogating the agreement on placing all the DPRK's nuclear activities under the supervision of the international organization.

Russian, German Secret Services Agree To Cooperate

LD1502195993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1713 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Kulbitskiy]

[Text] Bonn, 15 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—The Russian and German secret services will cooperate closely on matters connected with the battle against the international drugs business and terrorism. This became known after the completion of the first round of talks today between Yevgeniy Primakov, the director of Russia's foreign intelligence service—who is in the FRG on a visit—and the coordinator of the German intelligence services. [Word indistinct] to the FRG envisages a visit by them to the headquarters of the Federal Intelligence Services (BND), talks being held with Konrad Porzner, the leader of the BND, as well as with Eckart Werthebach, the leader of the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution.

Ye. Primakov's present trip is the first visit by a leader of the Russian intelligence service to Germany.

Claim on Chilean Chemical Weapons Reiterated

OW1202143193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1337 GMT 12 Feb 93

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature; following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Chilean embassy in Moscow has informed the Russian government that the information regarding Chile contained in a recent Russian Foreign Intelligence Service report does not correspond with reality. "There are no chemical weapons on Chilean territory, as is claimed in this document," said Chilean Ambassador James Holger.

The report states that "during the period of the Pinochet military dictatorship, equipment for manufacturing chemical weapons was set up and small stockpiles of such weapons were produced." "As yet," reads the report, "no evidence has come to light that these stockpiles of chemical weapons were destroyed after the coming to power of democratically-elected president Aylwin." According to the ambassador, Chile is ready to receive international, including Russian, inspectors in order to verify the information contained in the report.

Holger reported that this week, Russian Ambassador to Chile Vasiliy Gromov was called to the foreign ministry, where he talked with Chilean Foreign Minister Enrique Silva Cimma. Holger himself had already met twice with Department for Central and South America Director Jan Burlyai [name as received] and intended to contact the Foreign Intelligence Service to discuss the problem. "We expressed our surprise and concern regarding the report," said the ambassador.

He recalled that in January, Chile, Russia, and numerous other countries signed the Paris Convention on the banning and destruction of chemical weapons.

*** Chile possesses bombs and artillery shells with chemical warheads. This will be ascertained in the event of an international inspection. "We did not get our information out of thin air," said Vladimir Karpov, an official at the Foreign Intelligence Service's press bureau, in conversation with an INTERFAX correspondent. He added that the service was "open" to a dialogue with the Chileans, and ready to discuss any questions they might have.

Text of Treaty With Georgia Agreed

OW1202142393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1337 GMT 12 Feb 93

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature; following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The two weeks of talks in Tbilisi have resulted in agreement on the text of a friendship and cooperation treaty between Georgia and Russia and a document on the status of Russian troops. The latter stipulates that Russian units may remain on Georgian territory for three years. INTERFAX received the above information from Feliks Kovalev, the head of the Russian delegation at the talks with Georgia. Kovalev returned to Moscow a few days ago after the last round of talks in the Georgian capital had ended.

Kovalev said that the issue surrounding the Russian troops stationed in Georgia was very complicated indeed. Defense Ministry statistics indicated that 42 servicemen died in the Caucasus region during 1992. These were victims of assault while defending military stock from being seized. The diplomat considered that this situation had arisen mainly due to the absence of any legal basis for the presence of the troops.

He said that the last round of talks had produced consensus on the text of an agreement on the temporary presence of Russian border troops in Georgia. These would continue to defend the border between Georgia and Turkey until the end of 1994. Russia, he continued, was to assist with the formation of Georgian border troops. Expenditure on these troops remained to be decided as Russia considered that Georgia's offer to cover half of this was inadequate.

Kovalev announced that the Russian foreign and security ministries wanted to declare the state border of the Russian Federation administrative borders within the former USSR between Georgia and Azerbaijan on one side and Russia on the other. He said that Russian border troops were already being stationed in these regions but that a legal base and standard documents were still lacking for them to perform their functions (protecting the state border).

Regarding the conflict between Georgia and Abkhazia, Kovalev pointed out that Moscow still insisted on "exclusively peaceful means of achieving a settlement." Russia was in favor not only of maintaining Georgia's territorial integrity but also of guaranteeing Abkhazia the right to develop as an autonomy. The diplomat said that the signing of the Russo-Georgian treaty depended largely on whether or not fighting between the Georgians and Abkhazians would cease. "To sign the agreement right now at the highest level could be considered impossible," he concluded.

Agreement Close at Military Talks With Georgia

LD1302130193 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 Feb 93 p 3

[Article by military observer Vadim Solovyev: "Russian-Georgian Military Talks. Has the Mountain Pass Been Crossed, Or Does It Still Lie Ahead?"]

[Text] Members of the Russian and Georgian military sat down at the conference table for the first time on 13 November last year in order to determine how to structure mutual relations for the long term as neighboring states. By that time it was obvious that Russian troops in that country had become yet another foreign group—the Republic of Georgia has not joined the CIS, still less does it intend to join in the Commonwealth's military security package. Another factor exacerbating the position of Russia's servicemen on Georgian soil is the attacks by local gangsters, all of them identically clad in camouflage—it is impossible to grasp whose interests they represent; while the sending of a Russian peacekeeping contingent into Abkhazia in September last year (although it was done by decision of the Russian and Georgian heads of state) only intensified the negative attitude toward Russians in uniform.

Three rounds of talks have been held already. The latest, which ended in February, proved the most fruitful: Apparently the sides have studied each other enough and a certain level of trust has developed. A general pattern is emerging in accordance with which military relations will be structured.

The cornerstone is the basic treaty on friendship and cooperation between Russia and Georgia. The avenues of military cooperation it indicates are developed in a special agreement on the legal status regarding the temporary presence of Russian troops on Georgia's territory. But that is not all. It is proposed that the military agreement be supplemented by nine protocols defining with legal precision various aspects of the presence of Russian troops. These include the procedure for the utilization of training grounds, training centers, airfields, ports, military enterprises, and postal communications and the supply of electricity. Then there are questions of material provision and trade services, questions of the safe operation of aircraft in Georgia's airspace and safe navigation by ships and vessels, and questions of passage through customs and customs inspections.

The basic framework agreement and the specialized military documents are for the most part agreed on to the extent that they are ready to be submitted for ratification. The specialists believe that they have overcome the different points of view on the subordination of Russian troops, their composition, and other questions which were of particular concern to the Georgian side. It has been determined that the control of these troops will take place on the basis of close consensus between the heads of the two states—Russia and Georgia. Without this, the Russian troops' command will not be entitled to take any action. The peacetime strength of the Russian grouping has been agreed, and provision is also made for reinforcements in wartime. But the Russian troops will in no way interfere in Georgia's internal affairs. The use of military force is stipulated only in cases of a threat of military attack by a third party.

A large group of questions surrounds the help granted to Georgia in forming and training its own Armed Forces. This is something new for Georgia; there are no traditions, no base, no training establishments. Russia is prepared to make available the necessary training places in its own military schools and academies, but for a fee, not for nothing. The Russian generals rejected the Georgian idea of setting up mixed military formations in which representatives of what have basically become two different states would serve, but they do not object to working collaboration between military units stationed in adjacent areas. The question of the institution of military advisers and specialists for the Georgian Army has also been resolved in principle. They remain part of the Russian Armed Forces, but give assistance in the development of the Georgian Army under contract, as has been customary in relations with other foreign countries.

To the great credit of the negotiating parties, the question of individual rights of Russian servicemen in Georgia has been resolved in keeping with high humanitarian standards. This is the exact opposite of the relations that have developed in the Baltic republics of the former Soviet Union. And as Colonel General Aleksandr Galkin, who represents the Russian Defense Ministry's interests at the talks, observes, the resolution of these questions met with no opposition at all from the Georgian side. Russian laws will operate on the military units' territory, and when they are outside those limits the Russian military will be subject to the legal norms of the Republic of Georgia. A Russian serviceman is entitled, on discharge from the Armed Forces, to remain in Georgia as a permanent resident, and will be a full citizen of Georgia. But he may also leave, while retaining his right to ownership of his house and dacha and free use of his private property. But this will only be possible after the signing of all the agreements that have now been drawn up.

Gen. Aleksandr Galkin believes that this broad legal base should totally rule out attacks on military facilities and servicemen. The Georgian state authorities pledge to ensure the inviolability of persons and facilities belonging to the Russian military department. And this can be done. For instance, at the Batumi garrison there has not been a single such case, although in the very center of Tbilisi attacks on the Russian troops' headquarters occur, as happened most recently on 3 February. He also suggests that these gangster attacks follow a certain pattern: They are more frequent when there is progress at the talks; there are forces in Georgia that are vigorously opposed to cooperation with Russia and will stop at nothing. But they will not be able to reverse the course of events or provoke Russian officers into sending tanks into the streets in response to armed attacks.

The Georgian State Council is interested in cooperation with Russia, as is the Georgian Defense Ministry, whose headquarters are in close proximity to the Russian headquarters. The Georgian and Russian military leaders believe that there can be no question of transferring the Russian troops' headquarters somewhere else. At the moment many common tasks are cropping up, and questions of coordination require a shared location; moreover, a move would require substantial material expenditure, which neither Georgia nor Russia can currently afford—but most importantly, it would not be expedient in practice.

However, not all the details of military relations have yet been clarified. At the next round in Moscow, which is to start on 1 March, the greatest heat will probably surround two unsettled questions: the procedure for allowing military trains through Georgian territory, and the sharing out of mobile military property. Under the first agreement, Russia is willing to pay in hard currency for transit by its troop trains, but at a discount, as is customary in world practice. The second question, the shareout of military equipment, is more complex. Here, in the Russian side's opinion, excessive demands are being made on it and no notice is being taken of the fact that the armed forces of the former Soviet Union have already been shared out among the republics that once made up the Union, and Russia cannot allocate the same quantity of arms to Georgia as the latter could have expected to receive if it had been seceding from the USSR. It is a complicated and tricky question requiring careful calculations.

The optimum path is to approve the existing decisions, and carry out the division of military property in a businesslike manner with the involvement of a wide range of specialists, at the level of a bilateral government commission.

There is another question which is a constant, invisible presence on the conference table—the Abkhaz question.

Russian military formations are not under the command of the forces in Georgia, they are in no sense part of Georgia's forces. The Georgian side is apparently aware of this. But the Abkhaz problem, which is deadlocked, nonetheless demands to be solved. This, it seems, is one of the difficult mountain passes that must be crossed in order to arrive at equal cooperation, including in the military sphere.

Ukrainian Statement Seen as 'Evidence of Wrong Ideas'

LD1202142093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1338 GMT 12 Feb 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Staroselskiy]

[Text] Moscow February 12 TASS—Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman Sergey Yastrzhembskiy told a briefing today that the statement of the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry's press centre of February 9 concerning Russian President Boris Yeltsin's decree on state property of the former Soviet Union abroad "should be seen as yet another evidence of wrong ideas about what things really are".

The spokesman said the situation was absurd in reality - since property in question is on record as belonging to the Soviet Union in a number of countries while the Soviet Union itself is no more. The Russian president's decree settles the issue.

But this decree, the spokesman said, "by no means calls into question the obligations Russia undertook as the legal successor to the former Soviet Union under multilateral and bilateral agreements on this score signed the framework of the Commonwealth". [sentence as received]

Yeltsin, Others Address 11 Feb Government Session

Yeltsin Opens Session

LD1202233393 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1607 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Opening speech by President Boris Yeltsin at Russian Federation government session on 11 February—recorded; from the "In the Russian Government" program]

[Text] A most important issue is on the agenda for today's government session, namely the results of socioeconomic development of the Russian Federation in 1992, and the government's action program in 1993. I propose that we should conduct our session in a principled, frank, and critical spirit, so that this year we should at least not stumble at the same spots as we did last year.

The situation in Russia remains difficult. We are experiencing a deep economic crisis. This must be borne in mind without fail, when we assess the job already done or what we have failed to do. Without wishing to prejudge the case, of course, I should like to voice a number of preliminary thoughts.

First, irrespective of the difficulties encountered last year, I cannot agree with some claims that last year was lost to Russia, and that, as is sometimes said, it was marked by an economic fiasco. A fiasco would have been inevitable, had we not started the reforms, if we had continued debating them. This was the only real scenario of a looming catastrophe, and we were able to avoid it.

Second, I cannot agree with claims that Russia's economic reforms were conducted according to the worst version. They proceeded in keeping with the only possible variant. There were different programs and an acute shortage of courageous people prepared to shoulder the entire burden of responsibility and start this colossally difficult task, at the time when we were starting the reforms. In those conditions, it was irrelevant to carry on discussions on the model of the reforms that should be launched. It was impossible to select a team that would do it.

Third, quite a few mistakes were committed last year, and I hope they will be critically analyzed here in the reports and speeches today. Russia was confronted last year with many problems, which quite simply did not exist in our country before, namely problems linked with the creation of a market economy. Nobody, neither the government or the Supreme Soviet, both at federal and regional levels, has had any experience in solving such problems. And we had to resolve them on the spot.

Fourth, the reforms demanded a high price. Nevertheless, we must bear in mind that this is the price of reforms, not of a revolution in a multi-ethnic country stuffed with nuclear weapons. We are managing to maintain gradual evolutionary progress in spite of all the acute contradictions and conflicts.

Fifth, last year showed that one of the most important roadblocks to economic reforms is the deep contradictions, being manifested in the conflict between the legislative and executive branches, primarily in the top echelons. Growing tension in the sphere of government inflicted huge damage last year, including economic damage. Today, this is liable to simply blow up the country, to torpedo any, even the very best action program. Of course, we have no right to allow this to happen. This year must be turned into a year of economic efforts, not of political battles.

Chernomyrdin Interviewed

LD1202203593 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1607 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Interview with Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin by correspondent Yuriy Mironov during a break in Russian Federation government meeting on 11 February; from the "In the Russian Government" program—recorded]

[Text] [Mironov] There should be no contradiction between striving for economic freedom and strengthening of the system of management of the progress of reforms, Viktor Stepanovich Chernomyrdin believes.

[Chernomyrdin] Both are right. [Words indistinct] this is incidentally yet another emphasis on the main issue which is what today's report was about. Yes, this is the first thing on which we must be working. Indeed, the economic situation is currently such in the country that it is impossible to provide for everyone. That is the leit-motif of things, as they say. It is impossible to provide for everyone. But that is essentially not even necessary. Even if the possibility had existed, even if it had existed - let's suppose we were very rich, even then we would have had to be clever and not to be extravagant.

To give you an example: we recently met with the Kohl delegation when the Chanecellor was here with all his retinue and all his ministers. One of the questions raised was that they have enormous difficulties with East Germany. What was at issue was that at the beginning the two Germanies united, and on, but when they looked and did their sums, it brought tears to their eyes.

Even they, and theirs is a powerful country with enormous capital and with the refined market, they came to propose to us: Let us see what your enterprises can do.

Many people used to work, as you remember at the time when you, East European countries, had your own currency. Sometimes you cooperated on a barter basis, at other times [word indistinct]. Let us put our relations on a similar basis. We are not ready now. We have not got the energy, they said, to help all of you at once, that is, both us and East Germany. You see, West Germany is not ready to support East Germany, so people there have found themselves abandoned. Although their enterprises are not even that bad but even West Germany cannot support them. So, we are in a very same situation. The difference is just that we are slightly poorer.

Of course, we must not say that we cannot do anything. Of course we can. But now, in this situation we must focus our efforts on the main directions. That is that.

[Mironov] Viktor Stepanovich, I beg your pardon. Here is my last question. What shortcoming is common to absolutely all enterprises, both private and state ones? What shortcoming has hit equally badly every enterprise and every work force which works there. All financial channels are blocked. Money stays in banks for three months and is not paid out. In other words, the money is held back.

[Chernomyrdin] Perhaps I would not put it so unequivocally that all this is connected with corruption and that all this has been done deliberately. Perhaps some people do infringe the rules. The fact is, that there is no mechanism. It has not been created. If the turnover [changes thought] payments go out. Previously, payments used to be made three times a month, while currently they cannot even be made once.

That is the reason we have been pumping money. I do not want to name the figure; I am too embarrassed. We are still arguing about how many trillions are involved. But there are trillions. If, however, there was a faster turnover of money, there would have been no trillions. The problem here above all is that the operational mechanism has not been refined.

Why have we spoken very much today about the Central Bank? It is because the Central Bank provides licences. It creates these commercial structures and commercial banks. The RKTS [expansion unknown] is a subdivision. That is why we say: Let us work together. We must work together. We must work together on creating and refining this system. We will not be able to do without the banks. But we cannot carry on like this. Even in the worst of times, or even let's say previously, when we had to use the mail, even then payments were more efficient. Yet now everything necessary exists, and we have everything and yet everything has come to a standstill. That is the paradox here.

Gerashchenko, chairman of the Central Bank, and I got together. Not everyone of course was there - but 80 or about 100 bankers of all types were there. So we had a talk about this. But I must say things are yet to move from that standstill. Both we and the leaders to whom the Central Bank is accountable feel determined. We must now adopt the most decisive measures in that direction to prevent that happening.

It is only because of this physical work that we are bearing colossal losses in every direction, above all in the results of the commercial sector.

Chernomyrdin Addresses Session

LD1202204193 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1607 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Remarks by Russian Federation Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin at a Russian Federation Government session on 11 February; from the "In the Russian Government" program—recorded]

[Text] Precisely on the basis of general economic criteria it is also possible to determine the specific priorities of structural policy. First, the provision of fuel and energy. In our cold climate enterprises producing and transporting all types of fuel and energy should be located within the sphere of operation of state measures, although here too the problems of efficiency and selectivity are also very acute. Second, provision of the population with food. It needs to be finally said openly and honestly that no one in the world will feed us on the cheap. It must not be forgotten that over the past 20 years the country has been fed for three out of every 12 months by the income from oil, gas, and diamonds, let us say, or precious metals, which have gone abroad en masse and provided the basis for the purchase of foodstuffs. This possibility no longer exists. Nor can the whole population fast for three months every year.

If the land reform progresses normally, there is real potential in agriculture for feeding the people. All of this potential must be used on the national as well as the regional, administrative, and market levels; the mass initiative among the population must also be utilized. Today there is no need to describe this goal in more detail. The state, however, must keep an eye on what the country and the people are putting into the food sector of the economy.

Third, conversion of military production and support, on a selective basis, of the science and scientific-technical potential of the country. I would like specially to mention and draw your particular attention to academic research, its branches involved in fundamental studies, and elite scientists. This science is our future and the future of our Russia.

The government is today coming in for a great deal of wholly justified reproach and criticism; realistic, effective, and constructive measures are expected of us. People do not want excuses; they get quite enough of those. They want no more of the pointless chatter that comes both in the press and on television. It is real and concrete deeds that are indeed required of us. There are regions where the leaders are in control of the situation; they do not issue commands but are creating conditions for stabilization and the growth of production, are creating new jobs, are delivering grain, have delivered the grain they were obliged to, but not all leaders are like this. I would not like to...[changes thought] you are all sitting here, I can name those of you who have worked well and achieved results, and good ones, too; but there are also those who have taken up an all-round defensive position, as the saying goes.

The council of governors has already made itself felt; this is needed to decide issues at a regional level without being a substitute for the government. It is precisely the leaders of the regions, the governors and heads of administrations, who should be the conduits of the policy of the president and the government. We must have trust in them, and they will themselves be accountable for everything. They want this, and they have reiterated this today. This is what they want, and so we, Boris Nikolayevich, must delegate—we really must shift the center of the reforms actually to the regions. In the final analysis, we must define just what it is that is to be done at the federal level, and what it is that the regions should be doing. [applause]

I want to mention another most serious factor, one at once social, political, and economic—our Armed Forces. We have committed a most profound offense against the army. We shall not be forgiven for this. We must restore its prestige and pay back the debt we owe to the army. In the final analysis, no one will respect a state which is incapable of defending those who are supposed to defend it. We must carry out the switch from an army of a nuclear superpower to mobile, well equipped, and well trained armed forces serving on both a professional and a contract basis.

Shumeyko Addresses Session

LD1302000393 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1607 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Report on speech by First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko at Russian Federation government session on 11 February; from the "In the Russian Government" program—recorded]

[Text] The report by First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Filippovich Shumeyko analyzed the progress of reform in the past year, presented a serious analysis of the mistakes and miscalculations of the government, and presented the Council of Ministers action plan for implementing economic reforms in 1993. The report stressed that the government's chief task is to combat inflation.

[Begin Shumeyko recording] The Russian Federation government today faces a most complex task. To walk a tightrope, as the saying goes. To implement all the social support measures, halt the slump in production in priority sectors, to support agricultural production and at the same time avoid careening off into hyperinflation. This task has become all the more difficult following the decisions of the Seventh Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation. As one knows, having confirmed the strategic course toward the transition to a market economy, the Congress obliged the government to make substantial adjustments to the economic reform program and the tactics for implementing it and in lending the reform a social orientation and enhancing the role of the state in the transformation process.

The decision of the Seventh Congress on the progress of economic reform in the Russian Federation lists practically all possible types of indexation and compensation which the government and Supreme Soviet must urgently implement. Thus, from 1993 implementation of the RSFSR law on indexation of personal earnings and savings is to be ensured, a program of compensation of savings contributions for the population drawn up, and a mechanism for reinstating the circulating capital of state enterprises devised.

It is proposed to have parity conditions of price-setting for the agrarian sector, to restore indexation of prices for agricultural produce from the first quarter of 1992 [as heard] which will take account of the price index for industrial goods and services used by the countryside, with repayment to producers, out of the budget, of agricultural price losses.

Moreover, it is proposed to establish criteria for a minimum standard of living of the population and to put them into practice in draft laws which are drawn up. However, while making demands for the protection of the population, state enterprises and those in the agrarian sector against inflation, the portion of the Congress document which contains formal decisions says not a word about inflation itself and ways and means of preventing it.

The results of the Russian Federation's socioeconomic development in 1992 show clearly that the most important and highest priority task in 1993 is to hold back inflation. And the most effective means of combating inflation, as you will all know, is cuts in spending of every kind. The Congress decisions, on the contrary, provide for a sharp increase in spending. It is absolutely evident that the further implementation of economic reform is impossible without coordinated actions on the part of the government, the Supreme Soviet and Russian Central Bank. And here one can only welcome all the various roundtables and other steps designed to seek accord among the branches of power.

however, if a moratorium of at least six months or a year on all actions by the legislative and executive authorities which encourage inflation is not established and underpinned by a special Supreme Soviet decision, there could be a drastic departure from the chosen strategic course of political and economic reforms and democratic transformations in the Russian Federation. And in this regard the actions of the executive authorities to ensure support for the policy of reform by means of submitting to the will of the people seems entirely justified, in line with the selfsame decision of the Seventh Congress. Passing on to the tasks for 1993, we must examine several possible economic policy options for the government of the Russian Federation and the Central Bank. The option forecasts being proposed are based on the corresponding correlation between the basic macro-economic indicators.

As to the result of 1992, the most basic indicator influencing inflation - the average monthly rate of increase in the volume of money - is 18.5 percent. By the end of the year, as I have already said, the rate reached 25 percent, and in the first month it already exceeded 25 percent in the increase in the volume of money. So the options are being examined by way of comparing the monthly increase in the volume of money.

It is envisaged to examine three options, the first option being an increase from 7 to 10 percent; the second option being a 12-15 percent increase and the third option being a 20-25 percent increase - this is the one which is now happening.

If these options are examined proceeding from the fact that the most important goals of the Government's economic policy in 1993 are : achieving macro-economic stabilisation and as a result a substantial lowering of inflation, a slowdown in the pace of the decline in production in priority industries, a preservation of the living standard of the majority of the population of the Russian Federation, the strengthening of the foreign economic policy and the preparation of conditions for a stable economic growth subsequently, then most preferable from the point of view of economic reform, but most difficult to implement, is the first option of the course of events.

An analysis shows that only given this option of economic policy, will it be possible to realize the basic parameters of macro- economic stabilisation, reduce the budget deficit to 5 percent of GDP, or to 2.3 trillion rubles, not to exceed fourfold increase in prices per annum, to lower the monthly rate of their increase by the end of the year to 3-5 percent a month and to keep the hard currency exchange rate of the rouble at an acceptable level. This is the only development option that can ensure the long-term development targets, the start of a real implementation of the restructuring of the economy and the revival of investment activity by the end of the year, which will serve as a foundation for further growth. [end recording]

Fedorov Explains Consequences of Inflation

LD1202204693 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1607 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Speech by Deputy Prime Minister Boris Fedorov at Russian Federation government session on 11 February; from the "In the Russian Government" program—recorded]

[Text] One has to say that today we are seeing a struggle between two ideologies. Either we proceed toward an effective economy where money will really be money; or we try to save what we had before. It is the ruble which must play the prime role in a market economy. And you can see what is happening in the economy. Inflation running at over 30 percent a month; on the streets the dollar is being traded at 650 rubles [R]; the population's savings have disappeared; investments are disappearing, and in circumstances when inflation is outstripping the development of production, there will be no investment, because budget resources will keep on diminishing. And we shall get trapped in a vicious circle, when the more we try to put into the economy, the less we get out of it, and the breach in finances will get bigger.

This can already be seen from what has happened over the past two years. The decline in living standards is obvious: we give R10 with one hand, and because of inflation we take R20 with the other. There is the flight of capital: thousands of millions of dollars are going abroad, and everyone in every country knows that with a soft monetary and credit policy like that, money will leak away, because it is not advantageous to keep it in our banks. Nor is it safe, either. And each dollar which disappears abroad means a fall in the exchange rate here.

Although that exchange rate is not to the liking of many people - and it is no reflection of the wealth of our country, indeed - nevertheless it is an indicator of the slippery slope we are on. There's dollarization - just you try going through Moscow and see how much you can buy for rubles, go into restaurants and shops. And yet with all this, people tell us that the ruble has nothing to do with it, that everything can be done by other means, that one does not have to talk about the rate at which the money mass is growing - as if one can hike up investments and move forward with inflation running at that level. It is absolutely impossible! And we have to be aware of this.

This is why we have to try and take a new look at economic policy. We have to be very clearly aware that we shall get no investments in our country, and there will be no production, if inflation is high. And this is the key task for today. We are already living in a market economy, no matter how much some people may dislike it, and ugly and uncivilized though it is.

Abalkin Addresses Session

LD1302002293 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1607 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Speech by Academician Leonid Abalkin at Russian Federation government session on 11 February; from the "In the Russian Government" program—recorded]

[Text] I would like to warn you against the choice set out by Vladimir Shumeyko. Let me explain what I mean because I think this, perhaps, has not yet became apparent. These options are being judged on the basis of just one single bit of evidence—the average monthly increase in the money supply. Neither oil, nor gold, coal or bread are of interest to anyone. Only one factor interests all—the average monthly increase in the money supply. And here is the result of it: the first option envisages a drop in the gross domestic product by further 20 percent, that is, in addition to that one-third drop which we already had within the past three years; the unemployment growth up to 10 percent of the country's working population, that is, up to 7 million - this is in comparison with 600,000 we had at the end of 1992.

Furthermore,—and you have already said this today, Vladimir Fedorovich [Shumeyko]—this scenario for the future development will be opposed by the majority of the country's social forces and the most important political forces, and it will be resisted. This will take some courage, decisiveness and will. But this is the only possible option. Please, consider the following: is this the only possible option and whether or not Russia is prepared to pay the price for the future 20 percent reduction in production output.

And this is just on average, we could possibly expect some 30-40 percent in addition to what we already have today. Plus, the 7 million unemployment by the end of the year.

When people are talking about a crisis, they normally examine two indicators: the drop in production output and financial crisis - a crisis of the monetary system. In addition, we have a third one: the general crisis of administration - in its most varied forms of which many people have spoken here today. This ranges from failure to enforce the laws to confrontation between the powers, and so on. There is a very dangerous tendency: under various slogans to try to finally demolish the existing administrative structures in the present conditions of increasing drop in production output and the growing social tension.

Conference of Heads of Regional Administrations Begins

Chernomyrdin Addresses Conference

OW1302131293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1249 GMT 13 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Addressing a conference of heads of government from Russian Federation republics and heads of regional administration which opened in the Kremlin on Saturday, Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin spoke about the interaction between the federal government and regional executive bodies in carrying out the social and economic program for 1993.

Significant changes have taken place in the Russian Federation over the past two years, Chernomyrdin said. First of all, the geopolitical status of its constituent units has changed since Russia became an independent state. The Federal Treaty introduced new principles for relations between the federal authorities and those those of the federation's constituents, considerably extending tha latter's competence.

Preservation of Russia's territorial integrity has become a much more important task, the Prime Minister said. Two processes, he said, should be efficiently combined—greater autonomy for the federation's constituent parts on the basis of the Federal Treaty and their integration.

The Premier criticized attempts by some regional authorities to extend their competence to all matters, including those affecting the interests of the entire federation, and called on federal and regional authorities to share responsibility for the state of affairs in the country. He said some of regions fail to carry out their most essential tasks. Thus, the nation has received only 4.3 million tonnes of grain instead of the 9.5 million tonnes it needs, he said.

Individual regions have been granted various concessions over the past two years, Chernomyrdin continued, which, in 1992 alone, amounted to one trillion rubles, i.e. one-third of the federal budget's expenditure part.

He insisted on new methods for federal assistance to regions. Subsidies, he said, should be given for specific purposes only.

He also said the federal government should take part in appointing heads of regional administration.

In conclusion, Chernomyrdin expressed disapproval of the thesis, "a powerful region means a powerful state." "We must provide normal living conditions for working people in every part of our republic. Otherwise we will be unable to strengthen either individual regions or the state as a whole," he said. He questioned the popularity of the idea of a powerful Russia in the world. "Quite many politicians are doing their best to have us dismembered. We must have enough courage and ability to provide all conditions for the development of the regions, and ensure adequate living standards for their inhabitants," he said.

The conference is also being attended by Deputy Prime Ministers Vladimir Shumeyko, Sergey Shakhray, Anatoliy Chubais, Boris Saltykov, Yuriy Yarov, Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, and the President's chief of staff, Sergey Filatov.

President Boris Yeltsin is not taking part in it.

Shakray on Settling 'Conflict'

LD1302131993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1248 GMT 13 Feb 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Moscow February 13 TASS—Speaking at a conference of territorial executives in the Kremlin on Saturday, Russian Vice- Premier Sergey Shakhray suggested a formula to settle the conflict between the executive and legislative branches of power.

In his view, within the framework of a constitutional agreement, the president may and must raise the question of the parliament's renunciation of executive-and-administrative functions. Besides, the government should be vested with additional emergency powers for the stabilisation period. The Central Bank of Russia should be brought under dual subordination to the parliament and government. A programme of urgent measures to enact the federative treaty should be adopted.

Shakhray believes that the present deputies' corps should decline to adopt a new constitution. The vice-premier's opinion is that the following scheme of guarantees for the implementation of a constitutional agreement should be carried out: If the president infringes upon the agreement, he should resign. If the parliament contravenes the agreement, it should be dissolved. If the agreement is not complied with by the one and the other, an early election of both branches of power should follow, Shakhray stated.

In order to change the foundations of the current constitution, Shakhray suggested a formula, under which the president and the parliament speaker authorised by the Supreme Soviet sign a constitutional agremeent. Then they file a written application with the constitutional court, seeking a solution to one issue: How the legislative and executive branches of power cooperate.

Considering that the constitutional court has the right to constitutional lawmaking, it may issue a written judgement which would include the form of the constitutional agreement. This court judgement should not be subject to change right up the adoption of a new constitution.

Pending the preparation of a constitutional agreement, it is necessary to get ready for a referendum, the vice-premier concluded.

Shakhray on 'Constitutional Accommodation'

OW1302132493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1251 GMT 13 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russian Vice-Premier Sergey Shakhray would favor a negotiated constitutional accommodation between the country's executive and legislative branches. Speaking to the heads of regional governments in the Moscow Kremlin, Shakhray said the national parliament must authorize its speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov to negotiate an accommodation with President Boris Yeltsin. Otherwise, said Shakhray, Khasbulatov might one day declare he, in his capacity of speaker, had negotiated something the lawmakers failed to accept.

Shakhray felt the Chairman of the Constitutional Court Valeriy Zorkin could only observe Yeltsin-Khasbulatov negotiations. His direct involvement in the negotiations must be ruled out because either the President or the head of the national parliament might decide to appeal for the arbitration of the Constitutional Court.

In Shakhray's view, the President must suggest that the parliament stop acting as a body of executive power.

As for guarantees for a constitutional accommodation, Shakhray suggested that if the President failed to comply with its provisions, the President would have to step down. If the parliament violated the accommodation, it would be disbanded. If both the President and the parliament happened to disregard the accommodation, pre-term elections would be held, The Russian Vice-Premier felt the Constitutional Court could not offer guarantees for a constitutional accommodation because it is the Chairman of the national parliament who nominates the judges and the parliament's collective presidency which confirms the judges' salaries. Shakhray suggested that the republics of the Russian Federation act as guarantors for an accommodation.

Addressing the division of powers, Shakhray declared at least three government were running the country: the parliament together with the Central bank and billionaire executive bodies; the Chernomyrdin Cabinet, which, in Shakhray's view, seemed likely to turn, one of these days, into another committee of the national legislature; and the National Security Council.

Shumeyko, Sobchak Criticize Khasbulatov

OW1302133393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1249 GMT 13 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russian First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko said the executive branch has neither legal nor political reasons to doubt that the national referendum scheduled for April 11 will take place. Speaking on Saturday at the conference of heads of government of Russian Federation republics and heads of regional administration, Shumeyko said the decision to hold the referendum was taken by the Congress of People's Congress [as received] and, which was in line with the Constitution, and nobody but the congress is in a position to cancel or postpone it.

He strongly criticized parliament chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov for his position on the referendum. He said Khasbulatov seeks to discredit the very idea of holding such a referendum, intimidate society by predicting that a conflict between the legislative and executive branches may have grave consequences, and persuade the constituent units of the Russian Federation not to take part in the referendum.

In Shumeyko's opinion, nobody would take part in the referendum if as many as 12 to 15 questions were included in the ballots. He fears voters would be confused if there were more than three questions.

The Deputy Prime Minister is sure the Congress of People's Deputies would by no means approve the present draft constitution. "We shall apparently have to convene a constitutional assembly for this," he said, whose members should formally pledge not to participate in any elected bodies for a term of five years.

Shumeyko believes the legislative and executive branches should coordinate their policies, especially in the economy. This, in his opinion, must be an indispensable condition for a compromise between them. For this purpose, he proposed that the Central Bank, the pension fund, and the Statistics Committee be put under government control.

Speaking at the same conference in the Kremlin, St. Petersburg's Mayor, Anatoliy Sobchak, described the position of Khasbulatov and Constitutional Court Chairman Valeriy Zorkin as "to some extent provocative." If the referendum were called off, Sobchak said, Khasbulatov and Zorkin might claim that the executive branch had failed to properly prepare it and had therefore ruined it. This would enable the Congress of People's Deputies to impeach President Boris Yeltsin and replace him with Khasbulatov. "This is the hidden motive behind it," Sobchak said.

The Mayor appealed to the government to ask the Constitutional Court to check the legality of the Supreme Soviet Presidium's decision to have 12 questions put on the referendum ballots.

He said such matters are a prerogative not of the Presidium but of the Supreme Soviet itself, where far from all members agree with the Presidium.

Sobchak also urged the Kremlin conference participants not to go to any meetings organized by the Supreme Soviet. They should only accept invitations from executive branch figures, including the President, whereas Supreme Soviet-organized meetings should only be attended by chairpersons of councils of various levels.

Further on Shumeyko, Sobchak Comments

LD1302140693 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 13 Feb 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] A conference being held by the government with the leaders of the territorial bodies of executive authority is being in the Kremlin today under the chairmanship of Viktor Chernomyrdin. The main issues are the economic reform and the forthcoming all-Russian referendum.

Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin addressed the heads of executive authorities of the territories and said that the government's main task this year is to begin an active regional policy which would promote the preservation of a united state. He stressed that the economic reforms should result in creating good conditions for working people throughout Russia regardless of region.

Subsequently, Vladimir Shumeyko delivered a report on the referendum. He said that the bodies of executive power could have no juridical or political doubts about the idea of holding a referendum. Speaking about the quarrels about cancelling the referendun, he said in particular:

[Begin Shumeyko recording] The Congress decided to hold the referendum and only the Congress has the right to cancel it. No matter what agreements are reached and no matter by whom, this will not be a juridical or a legitimate reason for not holding the referendum. [end recording]

Differing points of view were expressed during the discussion of the main reports. One of these opinions, about the referendum, was expressed by Anatoliy Sobchak, St. Petersburg head.

[Begin Sobchak recording] The position adopted by Khasbulatov, the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and to a certain extent, by the chairman of the Constitutional Court, too, is provocative. The Congress decision exists. No one has changed it or revoked it. As a result of the talks, in the final analysis, at any moment they can say we have not reached a decision on the talks, no preparations are being made for the referendum; the referendum has been wrecked. And wrecked by whom? By the executive power. Who heads it? The president. So this is a basis for the impeachment of the president at the next Congress. [end recording]

Filatov Addresses Meeting

OW1302150193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1424 GMT 13 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "Unless the authority crisis is surmounted, we will be unable to implement the economic reform program," Sergey Filatov, Russian President Boris Yeltsin's chief of staff, said at Saturday's Kremlin meeting. "Lately one of the branches of state authority has been trying, on behalf of the people, to put fetters on the other branch. We face an attempt to put the representative branch on top." Filatov said he has been informed that the Supreme Soviet intends to remove from the President's competence "all the key areas of government," putting them within the government's competence.

"One cannot help seeing this as an attempt on the part of the Supreme Soviet to bring the government under it full control and put the heads of local administration under the full control of local councils," he said. This kind of policy may result in the councils resembling "the worst Soviets of the bygone days, and will ultimately check the implementation of both economic and political reforms," Filatov said.

Security Ministry Meeting Sums up 1992 Results

LD1302172393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1648 GMT 13 Feb 93

[By CRIME-PRESS correspondent Olga Semenova]

[Text] Moscow February 13 TASS—A meeting of the Russian Security Ministry summed up today the results of activities of federal security bodies in 1992.

The meeting was attended by high-ranking officials from the Russian Security Ministry, Russian Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy, Russian Procurator General Valentin Stepankov, head of the Russian Supreme Court Vyacheslav Lebedev, Secretary of the Russian Security Council Yuriy Skokov and head of the Russian Supreme Soviet Committee on Defence and Security Issues Sergey Stepashin. Army General Viktor Barannikov made a report.

The meeting discussed anti-terrorism measures, among other things. According to the information of the Russian Security Ministry, over 240 explosions, which resulted in at least 34 people killed and 144 wounded, were made by criminals in Russia in 1992. Forty four attempts to hijack plans have been made since 1990.

The minister said many such crimes were revealed, the majority of them had political hidden motives. The number of prevented terrorist acts was even greater, he stressed.

Speaking of reasons for the rapid growth of terrorism, Barannikov mentioned the deterioration of the social-economic situation, aggravation of inter-ethnic conflicts and political struggle in a number of CIS states, as well as in specific regions in the Russian south.

In his opinion, these tendencies are certain "metastases" of drug and arms sales. According to the estimation of the law-enforcement bodies there are about 1.5 million pieces of illegally-purchased fire arms in Russia and the Commonwealth, where "rigid" borders are absent.

The meeting elaborated a concept of activities of the department for anti-terrorism measures, to focus on the reception of preventive information and smooth interaction of all interested units.

Security Minister Addresses Conference

LD1302204093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1650 GMT 13 Feb 93

[By CRIME-PRESS correspondent Sergey Oleynik]

[Text] Moscow, 13 Feb—"Organized crime links to corruption has reached such a stage in Russia that it has become a real threat to political and state forms guaranteeing the safety of society." Security Minister Viktor Barannikov made this statement in addressing the all-Russian conference on the fight against crime, which ended today. In his opinion, ordinary people are beginning to believe that authorities are helpless in the fight against growing crime and this stimulates "distrust in state institutions, nonacceptance of the historical and philosophical idea of Russian reforms, and the creation of irrational social structures, sometimes military ones."

Viktor Barannikov said his ministry regularly receives information about the special interest of foreign secret services in Russian shadow economy dealers and organized crime leaders. He noted that western representatives make direct recruitment proposals to them, create favorable conditions for the expansion of criminal actions, and give them help in establishing relations with international criminal organizations and groups, which spread large amounts of counterfeit currency, firearms, and drugs across Russian territory.

The security minister told conference participants he has reliable information on criminal influence on a number of associates of high-ranking Russian officials. Over 2,700 cases of corruption were revealed by the federal state security bodies in 1992. The minister stressed the urgent need to elaborate criteria that civil servants at all levels should subscribe to, as well as criteria to allow law enforcement bodies to check up on these persons.

"May I remind you that U.S. President Clinton was unable to appoint all the members of his administration straight away because the nominees had to be vetted by the FBI. Nobody in the United States was shocked at that," Barannikov pointed out.

In his report the security minister dwelled on the situation in the raw material and industrial regions of Siberia, the North, and the Far East, which are extremely vulnerable regions from the point of view of Russia's economic security. In the minister's view, it is vital to have stricter state control over the processes of issuing shares and investments to prevent the "flight of petrodollars" and other crimes in the energy complex.

V. Barannikov backed the initiative to set up a CIS interstate body to fight organized crime. In his view, the right thing to do would be to first set up common information and investigation systems and in the next stage to set up joint, more mobile subunits and to further improve coordination of actions at points of entry into and exit from Russia.

The economic and socio-legal foundation of Russian society as it undergoes renewal is now being laid, the minister said in conclusion. If one allows it to be corroded with the rust of venality and violence, then the edifice of reforms we have built upon it may crash down, burying under the debris both democrats and representatives of the opposition, both rich and poor, Viktor Barannikov said.

Yeltsin Addresses Anticrime Conference

LD1202122593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1035 GMT 12 Feb 93

["Boris Yeltsin Addresses All-Russia Conference on Problems of the Fight Against Organized Crime and Corruption: Full Text of Speech"—ITAR-TASS headline; by ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow, 12 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—The all-Russia conference on problems of combating organized crime and corruption opened today in the Kremlin. The conference was addressed by Russian President Boris Yeltsin. He said:

It is the first time that we have held such a representative meeting devoted to the problems of crime. And this is justified in the highest measure. Crime has started to become problem number one in Russia. It is taking on such a scale and character that today it represents a tremendous danger to the individual and the state.

In the past year alone, hundreds of thousands of citizens have been victims of murder, theft, and robbery. The overwhelming majority of Russian citizens fear for their safety.

The growth of organized crime is particularly dangerous. Its field of activity includes trading in weapons and narcotics, the theft and smuggling out of the country of raw materials, objects of historical value, antiques, and religious objects of the peoples of Russia. Criminal groups have infiltrated into the economy and the banking system.

Organized crime has become a direct threat to Russia's strategic interests and national security.

Specialists consider that over half the criminal groups have corrupt links. Bribes for obtaining licenses and the allocation of quotas, for the granting of credits at privileged rates, for creating special conditions for commercial structures, for acquiring at reduced prices state property which is being privatized, and many other things—all this is the reality of our life.

The specialists also consider that about 40 percent of businessmen and two-thirds of commercial structures are involved in corrupt relationships. Corruption in the organs of power and administration are literally eating away the body of the Russian state from top to bottom. This allows the "laundering," as it is called, of the many millions and even thousands of millions of profit obtained from criminal activity.

The criminal milieu is behaving provocatively and is strutting about in its might and impunity. It is becoming more and more insolent and aggressive. Last year, the number of crimes involving the use of weapons doubled.

There is an increase in the number of acts of terrorism, both those that are purely criminal and those that are political. So the picture is unsightly and frightening in its nature and consequences. Crime is ruining the economy, interfering with politics, undermining public morals, and endangering human lives. Russian citizens are increasingly often pondering the legitimate question—is the state capable of defending society against criminal attempts? We have the right to give only one answer—yes! We can and must reverse the existing tendency. Otherwise all this will result in a collapse of Russia's moral foundations, while the people will lose any trust they have in state authorities.

Leaders of law enforcement bodies, leaders of republics, krays, oblasts, and all ministries and departments are gathered in this hall.

What we have to do is to point out honestly and self-critically who is not doing as much as they should and in what areas, and to assess in a fundamental way the situation that has arisen and how practically to wage a struggle against the social evil. The main thing is to define truly effective ways and means to eradicate it.

I believe that it is clear to everyone today that the deep-lying cause of the outbreak of crime is rooted in the political and economic instability of Russian society, which is going through a most difficult period of transition.

The fight against crime cannot and should not be carried out by the law-enforcement bodies alone. Today this is a most important task of all bodies of state power without exception, of the whole of society. It has to be pointed out how vigorously and energetically they have begun this operation in Moscow. The departmental approach and the desire to restrict oneself to fulfilling a narrow range of tasks is unacceptable today. Success is possible if there is coordination in tackling the crime problem and Russia's state policy as a whole.

Profound socioeconomic and political changes are happening in the country, and its geopolitical situation and communications with the outside world have altered, too. The country is changing rapidly.

All this needs to be taken into consideration in order to elaborate a truly systematic vision of the crime problem and to devise an integrated approach to solving it.

The following areas should be coordinated in it, first and foremost:

1. Improving the Russian state's legal system;

2. Strengthening law enforcement bodies;

3. Eradicating the social basis of crime and improving society's moral health;

4. Eliminating the economic foundation of crimes which in present-day conditions are brought about by the underdevelopment of market relations and the weakness of Russian democratic statehood.

A real demarcation of executive and legislative authorities and of local and federal administration bodies is at its initial stage in Russia. The process is developing extremely painfully and is being accompanied by conflicts.

It is in this process precisely that the main contradiction of the transitional period—between the old and the new, the presidential form and soviet power—manifests itself. In real life this takes the form of each authority adopting decisions of its own on practically every issue, and sometimes these decisions do not agree with each other or even are politically opposite.

There should be strict discipline from top to bottom, and no one should bear a grudge against these demands. For example, we know of many conflicts with regard to privatization. Several owners obtain decisions in their favor from various bodies with regard to one and the same property. The Altay kray stands out in particular, where there have been different levels of bribes. It reaches the point where oblast soviets abolish the laws, decrees, and decisions of the Russian state bodies.

Such confusion is literally paralyzing the work of the law enforcement bodies. Sometimes they do not know whose rights to protect, or who is the victim and who is the offender.

It is high time to sort out what is taking place at the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of Security, and the Defense Ministry. In particular, entire ammunition dumps are being stolen from the Defense Ministry, and no one says a thing. This is going beyond the limit. Both citizens and the law enforcement bodies themselves are used to acting on their own volition, relying only on their strength.

In such a situation both a real fight against crime and work in general for stabilizing the situation in society and the economy are impossible. It is sheer madness to continue political games in such a situation.

The power crisis must be settled at all costs. As I have already said, I see two ways of achieving this—through a referendum or by concluding a constitutional agreement with guarantees on its fulfillment by all branches of power.

As you know, at yesterday's meeting with the chairman of the Supreme Soviet and the chairman of the Constitutional Court, agreement was reached to hold regular consultations, and the next meeting will be held on Tuesday.

Esteemed participants in the working conference, Russia is incurring huge losses from unlawful operations aimed against the very thing which constitutes our national property—our strategic resources of raw materials. The squandering of Russia's national wealth, which became undisguised by the end of the eighties, has led to vast inertia today. It has to be admitted that over the years we have neglected this whole area. There has been a virtual absence of any legal mechanism or executive levers of influence to control the turnover of strategic and financial resources. Corrupted structures are obtaining access to dispose of enormous state resources for their own mercenary interests. Moreover, the Law on State Service, as before, unfortunately, lies idle in the Supreme Soviet.

To preserve and strengthen such a situation with all one's might—that is the aim pursued by the mafiosi elements. They can achieve this by one means only—by taking under their control the entire structure of distribution of material and financial resources of the state.

The so-called mafia "fathers" understand extremely well that as economic reform develops and distribution functions pass from the state to owners of property, so the objective conditions for illegal operations disappear, at least at the present scale.

Reform does not suit the corrupted structures—it deprives them of sources for existence. Not one sensible person will sell his own raw materials or his own output under an unprofitable contract just because he personally will receive a bribe. Similar phenomena can be clearly seen also in the finance and credit sphere.

Currency machinations based on fluctuations in the market rate of the ruble are widespread. What is more, deliberate action is being taken to lower it artificially. As a result, we are losing thousands of millions of dollars.

Gross errors in the activities of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, the Central Bank of Russia, and the Ministry of Finances have provided a breeding ground for corruption. According to official figures from the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, in January-September 1992 alone—I read from the official report: "The unexplained discrepancy between the foreign trade figures and actual payments was $2 billion." Meanwhile we hunt for pickpockets.

I would like to know which Western banks are benefiting from our money, and who, possibly even within the government, is profiting from this. The Procuracy and the Ministry of Internal Affairs are afraid to aim so high and to try to resolve what is taking place. Now we are going to help them. I am confident that it is impossible to fight corruption efficiently in the absence of a mechanism of interdepartamental coordination. Such a mechanism was created recently. It is the Security Council's interdepartmental commission for combating crime, headed by A.V. Rutskoy. We reckon on its efficient work. It can do everything, it can find anyone who steals or takes bribes. We will get down to business, not a political game or fictitious reports. We need concrete, solved cases and show trials. There will be threats and blackmail, but nevertheless we have to sort things out in Moscow.

But the creation of the commission is not enough to solve the problem once and for all. To create a clear-cut mechanism for comparing all the decisions which are being adopted in both the political and economic spheres with Russia's key interests has become an obvious necessity.

There are more specific manifestations of this problem, too. I have signed a decree on the mandatory criminological examination of the decisions adopted by the executive authorities. Any decision should be subjected to such examination. Such examination of the decisions adopted by the Supreme Soviet and local soviets is no less important. This problem should be solved as soon as possible.

There have been justified complaints about our legislators. Russian legislation is catastrophically lagging behind today's realities. But I have to rebuke the law-enforcement bodies, too. They fail to make full use of the right to legislative initiative.

It is they who must task specialists with preparing the necessary draft laws.

I think it is essential to organize a drafting commission here at the conference. It could generalize all your proposals on the legislation to later forward a document to the Supreme Soviet. It would undertake to generalize all proposals expressed by you regarding the fight against crime. For my part, I have already forwarded to the Supreme Soviet a draft blueprint for a state policy on controlling drugs in the Russian Federation.

I propose that parliament should adopt a special decision "on the involvement of units, subunits and other formations of the armed forces in order to ensure law and order and fight crime." Such work has already begun in Moscow.

The crime situation in Russia has been compounded by the cataclysms of recent times. The disintegration of the former Union and the formerly single legal space, while transparent borders are retained, has created a particularly "merciful" regime for criminal elements.

The explosion of nationalist patriotic extremism has led to wars flaring up close to Russia's borders. Neither has social stability been aided by the difficulties of transition to the market, the underdevelopment of economic relations, misjudgments in state policy on tax liability and price regulation, unemployment, which, albeit slowly, is growing, forced migration from the "hot spots," and many other factors. But we cannot allow the growth in crime to be blamed solely on objective reasons, and say that this is an inevitable evil.

Today we are raising the question of partial reorganization of our law enforcement system. I am ready to examine questions if you consider it appropriate. It is important that they should be based on the interests of the affair at hand rather than on departmental ambitions. I support the strengthening of law and order enforcement bodies, reinforcing their material resources and broadening the legal basis of their activity. There is a lot of potential for doing this. First this means reducing the strength of the Army and converting the defense industry.

In actual fact the Army and the militia carry out one and the same function—the protection of citizens and the state. Without a loss in the defense of the country the state can hand over to the militia a section of cadres and production capacities that worked for the Army. Equipping our law enforcement bodies must become one of the directions of conversion. I think that the question of the social protection of employees in law enforcement bodies is so far being resolved in an unsatisfactory manner. It boils down to just some increase in pay and a monetary allowance. It should be a question of an entire system of social privileges and guarantees. And not only for employees in bodies that maintain law and order, but also for members of their families.

The time has come, in terms of legislature, to increase the responsibility of citizens that encroach upon the lives and dignity of your colleagues.

And finally. Recently the leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs has been subjected to severe criticism, including criticism by the president. There will be more today. And not only of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. By force of habit, there is already talk of the future resignation of Minister V.F. Yerin. I want to announce that there is no basis for any such suggestion. We have to get used to the fact that critical comments are not testimony of no confidence. Let us avoid firing and sentencing people.

Do not let this fact obscure our work. I would like to wish success to the conference. It is very important that as a result of it we all should enjoy the opportunity to act more efficiently in our struggle against one of the most dangerous evils in modern Russia—crime. Our citizens and your colleagues expect this, and we are obliged to live up to their expectations!

Rutskoy Addresses Crime Conference

LD1302085293 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Report by correspondent Sergey Milyanchikov on a speech by Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy to the "All-Russia Conference on Problems of the Fight Against Organized Crime and Corruption" in Moscow on 12 February—recorded]

[Text] [Milyanchikov] Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy gave the main report:

[Rutskoy] The question of what will happen to Russia is of concern to everyone at present. I believe that, in order to answer this question, we first should find appropriate guidelines for a new route to building a new state. We should find a way out of the crisis ourselves, taking into account the experience and peculiarities of Russian history and our people.

One of the consequences of this crisis is a wild outburst of crime and corruption. The threat of crime is not a new phenomenon in our lives. It is dramatically aggravating under the conditions of the current transitional period. We must admit that a number of important state functions have become weaker. Many state institutions find themselves unable to function. Coordination mechanisms have been undermined through a purposeful counterattack by criminal elements. Strictly speaking, this was the primary reason for the decree of the president of the Russian Federation to set up an interdepartmental commission of the Security Council to combat crime and corruption. The fight against crime today is part of a general strategy for reviving the state and is one of the most important nationwide tasks.

Taking these decisive steps will undoubtedly require a counterattack against the anarchy and chaos that some people—with interests that are far different from the state's interests—are trying to depict as a manifestation of democracy. In fact, this approach has nothing to do with real democracy and the sovereignty of the people. Democracy should be the guarantor of a legal revival of a state in which the rights of an individual, society, and the nation are implemented in practice. The actions of the president and the Supreme Soviet are aimed at protecting these rights. They give state authoritative bodies the task of launching a frontal attack on crime and corruption, which are the main threats to the reforms in Russia.

[Milyanchikov] Addressing the representatives of central and local law-enforcement bodies who were gathered in the audience, Rutskoy called upon them to create a legal system that would protect the citizens of Russia and prevent the non-observance of laws. Speaking about the crime situation in Russia, Rutskoy mentioned some facts and figures.

[Rutskoy] The sociopolitical situation is especially being sharply destabilized by the rapid increase in acts of criminal violence. Last year alone, about half a million citizens were victims of murder, robbery, violent attacks, and hooliganism. In the last four years, 352,000 people have died or been maimed at the hands of criminals. More than 172,000 were killed in road accidents and fires. Those are official statistics. Such figures are comparable only with war casualties. Behind the statistics are dramas in the lives of millions of people: the wrecking of hopes and plans, the smashing of psychological attitudes and social orientations.

Virtually every family has been subjected to crime. On average in Russia in 1992, 192 crimes were committed for every 10,000 inhabitants. The criminal world is making an onslaught, on a gigantic scale, on the right to property. Also in the last four years, more than 3.7 million citizens were robbed. There are not just a few cases of criminals breaking into apartments, abusing people, using weapons, and torturing their victims. Criminal elements are avidly seeking arms. The illegal market is encompassing ever new territories. Submachine guns, machine guns, mortars, and other weapons with powerful strike capabilities are coming into circulation. Criminal arsenals are being swelled from army units and from factories, and by attacks against organs of the Internal Affairs and Security Ministry.

[Milyanchikov] Rutskoy also spoke at length about the fight against corruption.

[Rutskoy] More than half the criminal groups against which operational and investigatory probes were conducted by federal state security bodies in 1992 had links with corrupt elements in Russian administrative and authoritative bodies. These groups are now operating on an interregional and international level, acquiring characteristics of organized crime communities. Corruption corrodes the state apparatus and society like rust. Until now, we have not even given a legal definition to corruption. How can we fight this evil if there is this conceptual gap in the law?

Unprecedented abuse has been organized in the areas of banking; theft of strategic raw materials on a mass scale; privatization and financing; imports and exports; land reform implementation; and the allocation of funds in state commerce. Incidentally, speaking of privatization: Vouchers are being purchased in bundles at various auctions, and nobody even asks for an income declaration. So the end result is that a narrow stratum of people are becoming rich quickly. What do you want if certain plants are assessed at only 30 million to 300 million rubles [R] and, for instance, the whole complex of the Sheremetyevo Airport is assessed at only R2.5 million. Experts report that 40 percent of entrepreneurs and two-thirds of commercial structures are involved in corrupt relations. The president has spoken about this.

After the adoption of the president's decree of 4 April 1992 on the fight against corruption in the civil service system, only about 10 percent of civil servants have relinquished their participation in commercial activities. The others are successfully enriching themselves. Last year, only 1,908 criminal cases were instituted against corrupt staff in the state bodies and administration. One has to acknowledge that we have failed to create conditions where dishonest officials cannot sleep in peace.

Among other things, what sometimes hampers this effort is active opposition from certain representative and executive bodies of power. In particular, in the Republic of Buryatia, criminal proceedings have been instituted against those who have participated in entrepreneurial activities, including: (Vortunayev), deputy minister of foreign economic relations—he is still holding his post, incidentally; (Lupsanov), head of administration of the Zheleznodorozhnyy Rayon of the town of Ulan-Ude; and (Ashorov), a deputy chairman of the committee for construction under the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Buryatia.

Corruption among top officials gives rise to particular alarm. In Arkhangelsk Oblast, an organized criminal group consisting of General Major (Makaid), deputy rear commander of 10th Air Defense Army, Lieutenant Colonel (Burkov), chief of the Army Aerodrome Service, and Lt. Col. (Yermakov), deputy chief of the engineering service of the army staff, formed an association with a black market dealer and director of a private enterprise, (Rudnyy). For bribes, they sold military equipment, property, and consumer goods with a total value of nearly R1 billion. This is not the only example.

(Dobryakov), head of the Pskov Oblast administration, and his first deputy (Kabanov) were dismissed from their posts by a decree of the president of the Russian Federation for issuing permits to export an enormous quantity of fuel and lubricant materials to the Baltics—more than 1 million tonnes. Criminal proceedings have been initiated against them.

There are cases of betrayal of the interests of the service among employees of the bodies of Internal Affairs and State Security. In Tyumen Oblast at the end of December 1992, the (Abdurakhmanov) brothers were convicted of taking bribes. The oldest brother worked in the Internal Affairs bodies. In December, they received R1 million for dropping a criminal case against the alleged offenders accused of raping (Zavalovskiy), and only while receiving a second bribe amounting to R1.5 million were they detained.

Yet another example: Not far from the building of the internal affairs directorate in the city of Kursk, criminals killed a citizen and wounded a militiaman. Some time later, one of them was captured. But the most amazing thing was that killer (Popov) left his solitary confinement cell using the name of another person whose custody decree had been changed. He passed all control posts and duty officers, in spite of the fact that he did not look at all like the one who was to be released. At the exit, they wished him a good trip. The most anecdotal point was the fact that the guards noticed his absence only five days later. What supervision, control, and finally, what regime of maintaining operations is being discussed here?

Out of the 239 staff members exposed for corruption, over a half of this number were connected with criminal structures. A joint session of the Internal Affairs Ministry Collegium and the Russian Federation Ministry of Security was held recently on the subject of combating corruption. A system of cooperation has been worked out, but this is only just the first step against the old departmental approach to things in which every department tried to hog the blanket. So we will not get far with all this. There is a need to drastically change this, as well as to change relations between the departments themselves, the mechanisms of interaction, and the monitoring and implementation of decisions made by the state power bodies.

It should be stated frankly that the supreme bodies of power are also slow to adopt laws that establish criminal liability for corruption. There are no laws on state service and on the protection of the staff of law enforcement bodies. The system of declaring income does not work either. The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet should have placed the examination of the law on strengthening law and order on the priority list long ago, despite its great work overload.

The illegal export of capital from the country in 1991-1992 amounted, in the assessment of some foreign experts, to $17 billion—or almost R10 trillion—which is just a little short of Russia's GDP of R15 trillion in 1992. According to the data of the Ministry for External Trade Relations, the flight of hard currency from Russia amounted to R4.2 billion [as heard] in 1992; that is R2.4 trillion, approximately a fifth of the national income, which amounted to R13.1 trillion.

One out of every four dollars from Russia's export earnings remains in the West. The illegal transfer of hard currency abroad and the smuggling of strategic goods have become a real disaster. The unlicensed and duty-free export of strategic resources has reached an unprecedented scale. During the Trawl—a large-scale operation in 1992—internal affairs, customs control, and security bodies managed to curtail the illegal export from Russia of 900,000 tonnes of petroleum products, 35,000 tonnes of metals, 54,000 cubic meters of timber, and other goods amounting to over R20 billion.

This is only one tenth of what is illegally taken out of the country. Such exports of materials, raw materials, and goods from Russia is reaching catastrophic proportions. All possible ploys are used to perpetrate this, from forging documents to bribing officials. In Kaliningrad Oblast alone, more than 500 attempts have been thwarted to export raw and other materials without licence amounting to R1 billion.

[Milyanchikov] Other types of crime, new for Russia, have also emerged, primarily in the economic sphere.

[Rutskoy] Everyone remembers well the stories of the Chechen advice notes and Rossia checks. For both of these, we have to thank Matyukhin, former chairman of the Central Bank, and his deputy (Rasskazov). According to conservative estimates, the counterfeit advice notes helped them to embezzle over R30 billion of state money. At the Moscow accounting center alone, the theft amounts to R72 billion. These apparently are not the final figures. Rossia checks have been invented by these people, allegedly for fast payment transactions between banks and entrepreneurs. In reality, this trickery resulted in cashing funds that nobody had earned.

In 1991-1992, Russia repeatedly dumped raw materials on the world market. This led not only to a drop in prices and lost profits, but also prompted a sharp response from our partners. What it all came to was that Mr. (Peter) Schmidhuber, a member of the EC Commission, asked in an official letter addressed to the government: How could it happen that an EC credit amounting to $500 million, intended for purchasing meat for Russia, was used to the evident detriment of our country's interests? Prodintorg [a body responsible for foreign trade in foodstuffs] has purchased meat at prices that are $13.5 million above the average market price. What a naive man! The answer to his question is obvious. This $13.5

million—that is R78 billion—ended up in the pockets of the parties to the bargain. As usual, however, these parties are still thriving.

World experience shows that two important functions are particularly apt in the work of the customs bodies at such a difficult period as our country is now living through. These functions are supplementing the state treasury and ensuring a strict shield against plunderers of state property. These tasks can only be successfully performed by a service that is professionally strong, reliably provided for in the legal, social, and material sense, and appropriately equipped. There is, however, neither the first, the second, or the third.

Gross violations of the laws of the Russian Federation and the monetary system of the Russian Federation have been exposed. Certain commercial banks—Avtobank, Khimbank, Roslavbank, Unikombank, and others—have been issuing considerable amounts in cash, which makes it possible for entrepreneurs to conceal from taxation the profits they obtain, for all intents and purposes. The transfer of large-scale monetary funds from CIS countries—including some outside the ruble zone—is being concealed. The profits from these operations are being totally concealed. The Avtobank has issued total cash amounting to about R1 billion to the Yevroresursy Industrial Investment Company. Some of this has been brought out of Ukraine. This cannot be described as anything other than a most serious crime against the state's economic security. Again, however, no one has been punished for this financial rampaging.

Let me remind you. You have all seen the television advertisement saying that Ukrsotsbank openly guarantees 100 percent profit for those sending ruble funds in cash to Ukraine through its channels. This is unconcealed racketeering that has nothing in common either with commerce or with normal interstate relations.

Even the Yevroresursy company is concealing its income from the purchase of oil. A recent check on the state of taxation at a number of commercial banks in Yekaterinburg revealed their involvement in the illegal exportation from Russia of a number of strategic resources by organizations in Moscow, Krasnoyarsk Kray, and the North Caucasus.

In enhancing the operational efficiency of tax bodies, their cooperation with law-enforcement bodies should be increased. Agreements have recently been concluded with the Ministries of Security and Internal Affairs and with the Intelligence Service. One can hope that this step will yield positive results. In the press and among experts, the question of setting up an investigatory committee—a body similar to the American Federal Bureau of Investigations—is being discussed. Veterans will remember that this is nothing new. I believe that a decision on the creation of an independent investigatory committee should be made in conjunction with a whole range of measures aimed at reinforcing the judicial system, defining more precisely the functions of the procuracy, and expanding the corps of barristers—together with a drastic renewal of criminal law and criminal procedure. All this requires both time and money. We need a consistent, stage-by-stage reform of law- enforcement bodies and an exhaustive code of laws that will leave no loopholes for unlawful activities.

At present, however, a mechanical merger of investigatory apparatuses of the Interior Ministry, the Security Ministry, and the procuracy, without a legal reform, can only lead to the emergence of another law-enforcement super-department. I think that everyone realizes that this would weaken the present system of state bodies involved in a real fight against crime. When we sort all this out and reform the legal foundations, one could then proceed to set up an FBI. The efficiency of mainstream law-enforcement activities would be enhanced, primarily in the fight against organized crime. Specialized subunits of the Ministry of Internal Affairs that were set up recently are now gathering momentum.

[Milyanchikov] Having given a detailed analysis of the crime situation in Russia, Rutskoy put forward a number of proposals aimed at improving the law-enforcement system in the country.

[Rutskoy] As I have already mentioned, a coordinated, all- encompassing program of action for all law-enforcement bodies—that is, the procuracy, the Ministries of Internal Affairs and Security—is required. For this purpose, actually, an interdepartmental commission has been established by the president, as I have already said. What should its priority actions and tasks be in the first stage? I believe that these should include preparing and implementing specially targeted joint operations aimed at exposing, preventing, and stopping the activities of organized groups perpetrating crimes against vital interests of individuals, society, and the state.

It should ensure that investigations are conducted of the sources and the legality of accumulating the initial capital of non-state economic structures set up with the use of state property.

It should undertake joint measures aimed at preventing, exposing, and stopping crimes in the area of credit and banking and also crimes related to the theft of gold and precious stones, raw materials, nuclear weapons components, and fuel, and to their illegal export from Russia.

We should work to prevent and stop the laundering of capital by mafia structures abroad through Russian commercial organizations and banks and also to reveal and stop the activity of international groups, smugglers and counterfeiters. It is also planned to undertake investigations to reveal and stop illegal foreign economic operations from transferring hard currency abroad and illegally exporting restricted and licensed goods outside Russian borders. It seems necessary to begin purposeful measures to combat corruption and embezzlement of arms, ammunition, and explosives. At the same time, it is necessary to undertake measures to reveal and stop the smuggling of arms on the territory of the Russian Federation.

Fifth [as heard]: It is necessary to expose deep-rooted criminal gangs that have corrupt connections in the bodies of power and management by focusing particular attention to border regions.

Sixth: We should work together with law-enforcement bodies and social services in former USSR republics and foreign countries to stop the importation and sales of narcotic substances in Russia.

Seventh: In order to prevent abuses in foreign economic activity, safe customs borders should be established and a system of hard currency and export control should be formed. The fight against abuses should be combined with a unified policy on the Russian customs territory and economic space. Internal affairs, federal security, court, and procuracy bodies should be urgently provided with technical means and financial resources. This is the responsibility not only of the Russian Government but also of the leaderships of republics, krays, and oblasts of the Russian Federation.

Eighth: The state criminal law policy should be based only on independent statistics of crime that reflect the dynamics and structure of criminal manifestations and the end results of the activities of reporting agencies, investigation, and court bodies.

Ninth: Recidivism is a serious problem. In the past (?year), over 320,000 crimes were committed by people with previous convictions; 26 percent of crimes were committed by recidivists. Prisons not only fail to ensure the reform of offenders but are themselves becoming a source of social and criminal tension. The priority tasks here are to ensure legal protection for the accused; to differentiate more widely between offenses to take account of character and conduct; to ensure that the most wicked criminals, bosses, and ringleaders of the criminal world are kept in confinement apart from the mass of others; and to organize daily life and social adaptation.

The number of people whom the bodies of law and order are unable to protect is growing. Rightly or wrongly, people are being forced to arm themselves, and it is becoming virtually impossible to halt this process. Therefore, once again, a law on the right to acquire, own, keep, and use arms must be enacted as soon as possible. Here we must learn from foreign experience.

Twelfth [as heard]: We must provide aid to those neglected by society who can have an effect on the crime situation. People of no fixed residence commit over 20 percent of all crimes. It is obvious that the state, and even independent public organizations and foundations, have a duty to look after these people.

Finally, a law on a tax inspectorate [nalogovaya politsiya] is essential today, and also rules to govern the work of this inspectorate. Also required are laws on liability for tax evasion, with appropriate punishments, and so forth.

In conclusion, I want to make this very clear: the public is losing patience. The public has no faith in yet more campaigns and loud catch phrases. You can see what has been published in the latest editions of the newspapers, during the past week, about this conference. The public is waiting for real action and results. We must all understand that rampant crime and corruption are a bomb under our political and economic reforms. It is not a time bomb. It could blow up Russia's authorities and society. I think it is time to act. Thank you for your attention. [applause]

Yeltsin Speech at Council of Ministers Meeting

LD1202201193 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1607 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Speech by President Boris Yeltsin at the conclusion of a Russian Council of Ministers meeting in Moscow on 11 February—recorded]

[Text] Viktor Stepanovich [Chernomyrdin] has made a speech and, I think, he very conclusively convinced you, the citizens of Russia, all those who have doubts, all the media and the whole world that he personally as well as the whole government are in favor of the reforms and that this year, of course, taking into consideration the experience of last year, which was sad in a way, so as not to repeat these mistakes, he will do everything to continue the reform.

Viktor Stepanovich, I would like to draw your attention to the following. We regard the fact that we all signed the Federation Treaty as our great victory. At the same time there are ministers and members of the government who claim in the media that it was absolutely useless. We do not want these ministers [applause], only those should work in the government who precisely and firmly implement the adopted decisions. Not only ministers, we even have deputy chairmen of the government who cast doubt on privatization!

For us today this is one of the most important directions in our reform. And they shout the top of their voices to the whole country, to the whole of Russia, and to the whole world that no, this is not the right time to deal with privatization at present. Let's count nails instead.

There are people like this, I can give you concrete names. I would like to say the following: unfortunately the old appraisal system of the activity of the government members, ministers, has ceased to exist. In the past there was a plan, if you fulfilled the plan you were a good minister, if you did not fulfill the plan you were a bad minister. And what appraisal do we have now? There is no plan any more. So it turns out that either those who are the greatest talkers or those who grovel to the boss or those who hang around the boss's office. [sentence as heard] So it turns out that the president, the government, and the Supreme Soviet have a subjective opinion of our management personnel at grass-roots level as well as of government members.

Viktor Stepanovich, we should work out this criterion so that we don't decide whether a minister is good or not or whether he should be fired simply judging by appearances.

Further, I think that proper and very strong words were said about regional policy today. To be perfectly frank, the government did not have a regional policy in 1992! There you have it! Not that it was not simply finalized and so on, it was not there at all. It began in 1991, then it was suppressed and in 1992 nobody dealt with it. Let's revive it. Let's include a whole section about regional policy in the government's action plan. All the sharp words which have been said should be included in the government's action plan for 1993. Moreover, with dates, those who should carriy it out, and strict supervision. The time is 1545, the government sitting is over. Thank you. Goodbye.

Yeltsin Starts 12-Day Vacation in Moscow Region

LD1502090993 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin left today for a 12-day vacation. Vyacheslav Kostikov, the president's press secretary, revealed that the president will spend his holiday in the Moscow region.

To Attend to 'Certain Issues'

OW1502182393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1733 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Report prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature—item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Commenting on the Monday [15 February] report of the President's press service that Boris Yeltsin will have a vacation, Konstantin Zlobin, the service head, told INTERFAX that he had no knowledge on cancelation of a second round of the President's meeting with Ruslan Khasbulatov scheduled for Tuesday on overcoming the political crisis in Russia.

The press service explained that during his leave which he will spend in his country house in the environs of Moscow the head of state will, as usual, attend to current issues in the country's life, in particular the April referendum.

The experts think that in preparing for the meetings with Khasbulatov the President must be aware of the extreme polarization of views on desirability of the referendum. Nearly all participants in the Saturday meeting of executive authorities, including most leaders of Republics integrated in the Russian Federation and regional administrators did not want to have a plebiscite. St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak thought, however, that cancelation of the referendum may be used by Khasbulatov who would include impeachment of the President in the agenda of the next Congress of People's Deputies.

On Monday, Vladimir Shumeyko, First Vice Premier in charge of the Cabinet Commission on the referendum, told INTERFAX's Vitaliy Dzhibuti in the corridors of the "round table" of political forces (a public forum convened by the Parliament and Government Presidia - IF [INTERFAX]) that, theoretically, replacing the April referendum with a constitutional accord between Yeltsin and Khasbulatov was thinkable if such an agreement is made legitimate and if a provision is made that whoever fails to observe it will immediately resign, be it the President or the Speaker.

At the Monday meeting of the Supreme Soviet Presidium Khasbulatov suggested having a separate ballot for a question on confidence in the President of Russia at the April 11 referendum.

The same ballot, he thinks, must include questions on confidence in the Congress of People's Deputies, the Supreme Soviet, and the Federal Government, and on simultaneous election of the President and the Deputies before their terms expire.

Supreme Soviet

Kozyrev Addresses Session on Foreign Policy

LD1202164593 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1421 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Correspondent Olga Vasilenko report from the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet session in the White House, Moscow—live]

[Text] Main attention in Parliament today is focused on the speech by Andrey Kozyrev, the Russian foreign minister. The speech is headed: On the Russian Federation's foreign policy and on the Russian Federation's policy vis-a-vis the republics formed on the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

Andrey Vladimirovich spoke about the new guidelines of our foreign policy: These are a reorientation toward national interests and a strengthening of Russia's position as a Eurasian state. As he said, a good deal has been achieved. For example, there have been breakthroughs in interrelations with China, India, Mongolia and other countries. As far as interrelations with the CIS countries are concerned—this was also a subject of Andrey Vladimirovich Kozyrev's speech—much, he said, depends on our Russian parliament, and how soon it ratifies the CIS Charter which, as is known, was examined in Minsk recently. The main thing in its interrelations with the Commonwealth countries, with the independent states of the Commonwealth, is not only establishing economic contacts, but also protecting the rights of the Russian-speaking population in these independent states. There has also been achievement here and, first and foremost, it is the fact that the problem has been brought into the field of vision of the world community, which is very important.

Kozyrev appealed a great many times to the Supreme Soviet for assistance in controlling the structures that are rushing to sell weapons; as he said, there are a great many structures like this in our country, and they are all naming very different prices. The main thing for these structures is to sell weapons, and each of these structures is not thinking of Russia's interests. He called for assistance in reaching out to new arms markets.

Kozyrev set out a clear position with regard to the situation in the former Yugoslavia. It would appear that this was, so to speak, a calm, very well- considered report, and he replied to all questions put by the deputies. There were a lot of them, and from his replies we learned, by way of additional information, that our foreign policy has done a good job in clearing the obstructions eastward, which were even more tangible than they are westward.

A year was required to prepare for the visit to China, Korea, and India. In general, the balance in foreign policy is becoming very tangible. A question was asked as to why the visit to China was broken off—who prepared this visit—and Kozyrev replied in a very considered manner that the visit to China was in no way broken off, and that it went ahead as planned.

Generally speaking, everything proceeded calmly, and one deputy—Golushko—proposed that cognizance be taken of Kozyrev's report on the concepts of foreign policy, and to vote for an end to the debate on this question and move on to other questions. Voronin, however, said that something was not quite right. It was, maybe, that the question was (?over), and he wanted to end it. Indeed, he asked Iona Andronov to take the floor—the deputies voted to give him the floor—and Iona Andronov began with what he recalled of Kozyrev's speech in Stockholm. He said that Kozyrev did not have the right to bring the domestic political struggle into the international arena. He did not have the right to intimidate foreign leaders and to urge them to join with him against his own compatriots, against a section of his own people. Whatever the opposition might be, he said, they are us, they are the people. This is what Iona Andronov said quite recently in NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, and Kozyrev once again reaffirmed his own positions. This was how he ended his speech: It is not a question of him, but of you and me. Are we prepared to do something or not? Please put to the vote the question of your assessment of the work of Andrey Vladimirovich Kozyrev.

Kozyrev began his speech just as I came on the air to speak to you. Clearly there will be some kind of response, but of course I do not yet have any details.

Views Yugoslavia, Japan, Disarmament

OW1202170493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1649 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev called the conflict in former Yugoslavia one of the "most difficult and blood-letting." Speaking on Friday at the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, he expressed the opinion that the "only wise initiative" regarding the Yugoslav crisis was the Vance-Owen plan.

According to Kozyrev, Russia will keep to a "sufficiently decisive and independent position" regarding Yugoslavia, and has pushed for the UN Security Council to support the plan by the co-chairmen of the Geneva conference.

The impression is being formed, said the minister, that Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic "is using his mandate received at elections in order to show support for the Vance-Owen plan." In the foreign minister's words, there are signs of Milosevic's "positive influence" on the situation in Bosnia.

Russia's foreign minister called the supposition by Bosnian Muslim politicians of counting on foreign military intervention or the removal of the embargo on arms supplies "groundless illusions." If Croatia, which recently initiated military action against the Serbian Kraina region, continues on this path, Kozyrev emphasized, sanctions could also be imposed against this republic.

When speaking of the sanctions on Serbia and Montenegro, the minister informed that Russia had conducted "a preliminary probes" at the UN Security Council to loosen sanctions for "humanitarian reasons." The "probe," however, showed that other Security Council members are not yet ready to take this step.

With regard to Russo-Japanese relations, Kozyrev emphasized that Moscow plans to "act patiently," trying to cultivate cooperation with Tokyo. At the same time, the minister said that Russia is categorically against any kind of linking of Boris Yeltsin's invitation to the Tokyo "Big Seven" summit with issues of bilateral Russo-Japanese relations.

Kozyrev expressed the hope that after Belarus' recent decision, Ukraine would also ratify the START-1 treaty and the Lisbon protocol. With a high estimation of START-2, Kozyrev remarked that after its signing, opportunities for further disarmament for Russia would be "exhausted in a sense." The minister said that Moscow plans to be tough on the issue of control over the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, but does not plan to refuse to compete on weapons markets. In conjunction with this he remarked that Russia's participation in an arms trade fair in Abu Dhabi "promises many contracts for us." In his words, participating in the fair was a real dividend from Russia's course of cooperation with moderate, and not with aggressive partners in the Middle East.

In response to the claim by several parliamentarians that due to Moscow's participation in sanctions, the country had lost $17 billion, Kozyrev stressed that in this case they were talking about "mythical billions." He pointed out that for instance, to maintain military partnership with Iraq and simultaneously with rich and moderate countries in the Middle East was "impossible." The Supreme Soviet passed the decision to postpone until Thursday February 18th, consideration of draft resolutions, prepared before Kozyrev's speech in parliament, on the events in Yugoslavia and appeals to parliaments of the republics of former Yugoslavia and the world community. The chair of this session of parliament, deputy head of the Supreme Soviet Yuriy Voronin, said that these documents needed to be revised.

Answers Critics

LD1202181893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1715 GMT 12 Feb 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Nikishov]

[Text] Moscow, Feb 12 (ITAR-TASS)—During the past year, "not only did we not lose ground internationally, but we made significant gains," Russia's Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev today told a joint sitting of the chambers of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet. He outlined the Foreign Ministry's main policy aims, which were then debated by the people's deputies.

"Russia has secured recognition as a normal, great power, the successor to the USSR," the minister continued. He added that visits by President Boris Yeltsin and other foreign policy moves "are strengthening Russia's position as a Eurasian power, interested in East and West in equal measure." There have been changes with regard to relations with eastern European countries, and "the CIS has emerged from its preparatory phase."

Andrey Kozyrev remarked that in Russia's foreign policy "a new goal is forming and acquiring a solid content, in particular economic, of agreements reached, and opportunities used." He said that in order for this goal to be achieved the assistance of the Supreme Soviet would also be required.

The minister stressed the importance of upholding the interests of the Russophone community in the former Soviet republics. This issue, he believes, is of concern not only to the Foreign Ministry, and a solution to it should be commensurate to the development of bilateral economic links.

On the subject of the START II Treaty, the minister said that it "leads us to an unprecedented level of strategic stability." He voiced the hope that Belarus' recent accession to the treaty will serve as a good example to Ukraine.

As Andrey Kozyrev noted, new opportunities are now opening up for entering the armaments markets, including in the Near East. But "without state control we simply will not be able to enter this market," he stressed.

The minister described the conflicts in Nagorno-Karabakh and Yugoslavia as "the most intractable and bloody." Touching in greater detail on a Yugoslav settlement, he noted that "the only reasonable alternative has emerged" there "in the form of the Vance and Owen proposal."

The minister described as another sphere of foreign policy problems the saturation of the Russian markets with goods which is to be promoted by the development of relations, in particular with China, Scandinavia, and eastern Europe.

During the discussion that followed, the deputies made a number of critical remarks addressed to the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It was decided not to discuss the country's foreign policy concept which was prepared by the Ministry, but to pass it on to the parliamentary committee for revision, and then, after positions taken by other departments have been taken into account, to pass it on to the Government. A heated discussion was held on the subject of Russia's actions with regard to the Yugoslav settelement. Andrey Kozyrev has explained to the deputies that Western countries quite often will associate themselves with the position already formulated by Russia on this issue. Yevgeniy Ambartsumov, chairman of the Parliamentary Committee for International Issues and Foreign Economic Ties, highlighed the constructiveness of the Russian position. However, other deputies did not accept the appeal and decision on Yugoslavia tabled by the deputies' factions, and returned them for further elaboration.

Motion Rejected

OW1202222993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2007 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Deputy Chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet Yuriy Voronin who chaired the night session on Friday rejected including a motion that the activities of Foreign Minister Kozyrev be scrutinized into the parliamentary agenda.

This motion was made by Deputy Chairman of the International Affairs and Foreign Trade Committee Iona Andronov.

In an INTERFAX interview Andronov explained that he "has no right to call for the Minister's resignation because the decision on approval of the four 'power' ministers cannot be canceled". But he concluded from talks with numerous deputies that his motion would be supported but for Yuriy Voronin's arbitrary action.

Andronov complained that because of the Deputy Chairman the session at which Kozyrev made his speech degenerated into "much ado about nothing". Andronov feels that Andrey Kozyrev simply does not make public his true policy which is "a betrayal of Russia's national and state interests".

Meanwhile Yevgeniy Ambartsumov, Chairman of the International Affairs and Foreign Trade Committee, told the Parliament that "our attitude towards the Minister must not be that of the Roman MPs to Carthage which had to be destroyed". In his words, in his controversial Stockholm statement to the CSCE the minister "confused the genres" but on the whole the Foreign Ministry has improved its performance, notably in handling the Yugoslav crisis.

Further Details

LD1302005893

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 2040 GMT on 12 February in its "At the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet" carries a 30-minute report on the proceedings of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet.

The program begins with a statement by Aleksandr Venediktovich Korovnikov, chairman of the committee for the disabled, at the rostrum explaining amendments to the law on pensions for servicemen and their families. Deputies raise questions from floor; Chairman Voronin says the queries raised have already been discussed and voted on by the Supreme Soviet, and calls a vote on whether to proceed to a vote on the draft as a whole: the proposal to proceed is not passed. An unidentified deputy at the rostrum calls for a debate on the financing of the pension provisions in conjunction with the 1993 budget; the chairman draws deputies' attention to the fact that the president's representative has requested a postponement of the debate on the issue; the committee chairman has been informed of this.

An unidentified deputy at the rostrum explains the origins of the draft resolution before the deputies on financing the fuel and power complex. He says: "On 18 December 1992, in Resolution No. 41341, the Supreme Soviet adopted a resolution on implementing the Russian Federation law on accurate determination of the indices of the Russian Federation republican budget for 1992. This resolution stated that the Russian Federation Central Bank should be permitted to make available in December 1992 to the Russian Federation Ministry of Finances the following credits: it was stated that 200 billion should be allocated to granting preferential credit to enterprises and organizations of the fuel and energy complex for urgent payments for completion of capital construction work and paying off debts for deliveries of fuel and petroleum products ahead of schedule—to be paid off before December 1994, calculated at 10 percent interest. Well, the Central Bank did not have time to draw up all these credits accounted for in the resolution, and the government appealed to the Supreme Soviet to prolong the validity of the resolution. The Committee for Industry and Power Engineering, the Commission on Planning, Budget, and Prices, and other interested committees and commissions have examined this matter, and today are submitting the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet resolution on financing the fuel and energy complex, with the recommendation to accept the government's proposal to prolong the validity of the Supreme Soviet resolution of 18 December 1992. I ask you to back our recommendations."

A vote is taken. The screen shows the resolution is passed, with 177 votes in favor, none against, and one abstention.

The announcer briefly summarizes other business in the Supreme Soviet during the day, and gives a short account of an address to the evening session on foreign policy by Russian Federation Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev over video of Kozyrev at the rostrum. Kozyrev then takes questions from the floor. Deputy Zolotukhin from Moscow asks: "Recently one has noted a stepping up of Russian foreign policy toward the east. Does this signify some adjustment of foreign policy, which was somewhat earlier characterized as being oriented toward the United States and the Western countries? How would you comment as a whole on the thesis of the balanced nature of Russian foreign policy?"

Kozyrev replies: "I think one might speak of an adjustment at the level of implementation. The fact is that we proclaimed a balanced foreign policy right at the outset, and right at the outset we said that the double-headed eagle—we said this back when we were expecting that symbol to be adopted by the Supreme Soviet—looks equally keenly westward and eastward.

"The problem is that the blockages to the east turned out to be greater than those to the west, however strange that may be. Despite the fact that I am altogether a professional, I was surprised by this. A year was required to prepare for a really serious visit to China and to prepare for a breakthrough visit to Korea and to India. You indeed are aware how dramatically the settlement, say, of the debt commitments with India occurred just recently. Regarding Japan we have not yet had an opportunity to propose and recommend that the president go there on a visit, since it must be only a successful visit. However, the fact that these visits have begun and that some positive shifts and even in my view major breakthroughs have occurred in our eastern policy is now bringing a balance, not in words but in practice, to our foreign policy. I want to assure you that the reason has not been forgetfulness about the east but the extraordinary difficulties in the way of a settlement."

An unidentified deputy asks who was directly involved in preparing the president's visit to China. He says: "As we all know, the psychological factor was not exactly taken into account there—that is, the eastern mind. Pronouncements which were so easily made, such as, for example: I see people do not march in formations here—and so on, led to a situation where our leader was ignored by Deng Xiaoping, the actual leader of China, and his visit was interrupted." He describes the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' handling of the matter as a professional failure. Kozyrev replies: "A presidential visit is usually prepared by several departments. I went on a visit to China in March last year, one of my first visits to the countries of the East—this, incidentally, is in addition to the question which we had earlier. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs takes its part in preparations for the visit and this is based on its own particular requirements. Esteemed deputies, I understand that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is being held responsible for everything and even feel flattered by this. Nevertheless, let's proceed from the fact that the Foreign Ministry is not responsible for the whole state. Obviously, the Foreign Ministry is trying to prepare the answers to its own questions. Apart from the president, other people went to China too: Shokhin, the minister of foreign economic ties and, as I remember, Grachev—or, at least, Grachev received the Chinese defense minister here. In other words, the whole government is engaged in preparations along the whole range of issues. Of course, the president is briefed by the various services, including the foreign intelligence service. I mention the most obvious sources of information here. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is also among them—especially the embassies. So I would not decribe what you were just talking about here as our professional failure. I think this would be dramatizing the situation a bit. First of all, every man—and the president is a man too—has a right to express his thoughts in whatever form, literary or colloquial, he deems fit. Moreover, I should not think that one has to be so strict with one's words at a news conference. I do not believe that each of us always spoke in perfectly polished sentences. There was nothing frightening in that phrase, anyway.

"Second, no one has had a meeting with Deng Xiaoping in the recent past. This is not because he has refused a meeting but because he simply does not meet anyone, for a number of reasons which I shall not mention here because this is a confidential matter for the Chinese side and I believe we should respect their rights. Regarding the other matter, the interruption, the visit was not interrupted. I should like to clarify this fact. The president's official visit was scheduled for and lasted two days. The official agenda, including the official farewell ceremony, was completed in full. That is, he officially said farewell to all the Chinese leaders. Apart from the visit's official agenda, as is often the case, the president initially was planning to make a familiarization visit to one of the new economic regions. This was just a familiarization visit, not a part of his official visit. The president chose to return to Moscow for the reasons which he has already explained himself. Part of the delegation, however, including representatives from our regions, have gone there and learned about experience of economic cooperation. I want to stress this: the visit was not interrupted. The Chinese side knows this perfectly well and there were never any questions about this situation."

Deputy Lyubimov then asks: "At recent hearings held by the committee on foreign economic relations I asked you whether the Foreign Ministry is aware that we have lost about $17 billion by adhering to the sanctions. Is the Foreign Ministry aware that we're now $17 billion down by halting arms deals, when we used to have 36 percent of the worldwide market, while the United States has increased its arms sales to account for 56 percent of the world market? Your answer then was that these issues are not the Foreign Ministry's business, that it's a foreign trade matter. I will ask you the question again: Will the Foreign Ministry deal only with purely political matters, or will it deal with all aspects of issues that concern Russia's national interests? Will it act to uphold Russia's economic interests?"

Kozyrev responds: "The shortest answer is yes, of course we will, and we are. But this mythical $17 billion keeps cropping up, and if you want I can give an answer to that as well, even though information on it has been circulated to us and it's all been covered in the newspapers. I don't know if there is any point, but I can say something about it. Now then, concerning ..." There is a brief interruption caused by indistinct heckling from the hall; the chairman restores order, and Kozyrev continues:

"Concerning our exports of arms. I mentioned that during my brief speech, and I'll be quite happy to go into more detail now. We believe that one of our foreign policy aims is to get into the export market for armaments and military hardware. That is official and absolutely out in the open. We keep this aim in mind all the time. The problem is, however, that a number of our long-standing customers are completely insolvent and there is no point today in talking about their ever being able to pay off their debts for arms received. Take Angola, where there is a civil war on and they are asking for more help from us with their security. I think we ought to give it to them, incidentally, but I fear that the economic end result will be the same, although I do think that we have some political interests and some kind of political obligation there. In order to break into markets where they pay hard cash and where there are billions to be made, we will have to turn down customers of ours whom the real payers see as aggressors and their own sworn enemies. To put it bluntly, I am talking about Iraq here, which is feared in its region, and there is absolutely no way that we can be in military partnership simultaneously with Iraq and with other rich—and I mean really rich—countries in that region.

"Thanks to our policy line, though, we are now really breaking through; rather, we have a chance of breaking through into this market. There will be a huge Russian arms fair very soon in Abu Dhabi. I mentioned that earlier. I think that this achievement is due directly to what we have been doing this year. Earlier, no one would have let us anywhere near the Persian Gulf to hold any kind of arms fair. We are of course up against competition from the long-standing arms suppliers. We always used to supply one lot, who could not pay, while the Western states—in particular Britain, the United States, and France—were supplying these other states, with which they traditionally did business.

"So it will not be so easy to break into the market. On a political level we are raising this issue with the Western states and saying: You should help us break into the arms market. As I am sure you will understand, this is a somewhat unorthodox way of doing it. Incidentally, at government level they are taking a fairly understanding attitude to it. The issue now, though, and here I turn to you, esteemed People's Deputies, and I mentioned it in my speech, is this: You should oversee this matter."

Yugoslav Sanctions Cost Nation $4 Billion in 1992

OW1202190493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1651 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Direct losses from joining international economic sanctions on Yugoslavia in 1992 cost Russia a total of $4 billion. This was stated in a note distributed Friday in the Supreme Soviet in regard to a planned report for the evening session by Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev on the foundations of foreign political activity.

"Rossia's" note, which was signed by its coordinator Sergey Baburin, declares that "the introduction of a trade embargo has hurt the U.S., England, France and Japan much less, since their trade turnover with Yugoslavia totalled respectively from 35 to 10% of Russia's trade with this country." Significant Yugoslavian funds were frozen in banks in western countries (in the U.S. - $400 million), which were released into circulation, the note claims. For such countries as Germany and Italy, which did just about as much business with Yugoslavia as Russia, the sanctions have not made a big difference since their trade influxes which formerly came from Yugoslavia were promptly reoriented within the EC.

Deputy: More Anti-Belgrade Sanctions 'Impermissible'

OW1502155293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1519 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Report by diplomatic correspondents Andrey Borodin, Dimitry Voskoboynikov, Igor Porshnev, and others; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature—item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Oleg Rumyantsev, member of the Russian parliament and secretary of the Constitution Commission, feels that the world community should introduce direct sanctions against Croatia. He believes such a provision should be included in the draft of parliament's appeal which will be completed Thursday [18 February]. The parliamentarian feels that Croatia has been regularly supplying weapons to Bosnia and Hercegovina, violating air space agreements, and taking "aggressive action on all fronts," even on Serbian territory.

Rumyantsev thinks Russia should ask the UN Security Council to lighten its sanctions against Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). He claimed that "the United States' attempts to step up the sanctions" against Belgrade are "impermissible." The legislator also noted that, in his opinion, often the negotiation process on the settlement in Bosnia and Hercegovina "breaks down due to the unwarranted actions" of Bosnian leaders. According to his proposal, the Russian parliament should express "serious concern" over the fact that several members of the Islamic Conference Organization have called for the use of force against the former Yugoslavia and Bosnian Serbs.

Rumyantsev proposes that parliament note that the "government has ignored" parliament's instructions. In mid-December of last year parliament gave the government two weeks "to resolve the issue of resuming humanitarian shipments to the former Yugoslavia." The deputy wrote that by March 1 the government should at least give a report on the progress in fulfilling this order.

Foreign Policy Concept Regarding Baltics Outlined

LD1202232793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Text] In Russia's relations with the Baltic countries, efforts will be required to find mutually acceptable solutions to pressing issues, including protecting the rights of the Russian-speaking population and the withdrawal of Russian troops.

This is stated in the document entitled On the Concept of Russia's Foreign Policy, which was distributed in the Russian Supreme Soviet today.

The statement stresses, in particular, that Russia intends to continue the search for solutions to the issue of the rights situation of Russian troops and the timetable for their withdrawal, and at the same time to try to gain possession of [dobivatsya zakrepleniya za soboy] strategically important facilities.

Moreover, the Russian Government will do everything possible in order to ensure the rights of the Russian-speaking population in the Baltic republics, and to enshrine them in the appropriate international documents.

Khasbulatov Wants Confidence Vote in Referendum

OW1502165493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1609 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russian Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov told the presidium of parliament Monday [15 February] that the

April referendum on the main provisions of the Russian Constitution should include separately a vote of confidence in the Russian president, the Congress of Russian People's Deputies, parliament itself and the federal government. He suggested that the inclusion of these issues would definitely persuade Russians to take part in the referendum. Khasbulatov said that this way the president's own proposal made at the 7th Congress of People's Deputies would be put into practise.

The president proposed during December's congress that the Russian people should be given the opportunity to decide whom they trusted most with the reform program—the president, the congress or parliament—at the referendum.

The same vote should, Khasbulatov suggested, include the issue of simultaneous early elections for the president and parliament. He suggested three dates for this: fall 1993, winter 1993-94, and spring 1994 (the latest date).

Khasbulatov added that the definition of the functions of the president amidst the heat of "anti-centrist sentiment" had given rise to "the disproportionate broadening of the area covered by the functions of executive power, especially those of the president." Regarding a possible constitutional agreement, the speaker emphasised that this should be reached within the framework of the Russian Constitution and Russian legislation. He added that the president was "systematically violating the prerogatives of both parliament and the federal government" and that "almost every presidential decree contained some of these violations." Khasbulatov considered it essential to "fortify the government." "The inclusion in the constitutional agreement of a clause on the president fully entrusting the government with all economic issues would indeed be a major achievement," he said.

Poltoranin Denies FIC Conducts Censorship

LD1502180793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1718 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Report by ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow, 15 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—Mikhail Poltoranin, chairman of Russia's Federal Information Center (FIC), has denied allegations that the center has a censorship function. He stressed that the matter of setting up this service was raised a year ago, but only now has the idea become a reality. Poltoranin said this today at a meeting with the council of deputies' factions of the Russian parliament.

"It was a useful conversation in all respects," Vladimir Novikov, chairman of the council of deputies' factions, told the ITAR-TASS correspondent. He added that "what was valuable about the meeting was the fact that representatives of deputies from virtually the whole political spectrum of the Supreme Soviet took part in it."

Vladimir Novikov noted that the idea of setting up the FIC met with a mixed reaction from deputies, although it is actively supported by the parliamentary coalition of reforms. "During the debates, there was a sense of wariness with regard to Mikhail Poltoranin's explanations," the chairman of the council of factions explained. "In my view, this is because the pro-presidential tendencies of the FIC's activity are patently clear."

International Affairs

German Foreign Minister Kinkel on Official Visit

Foreign Ministers Initial Agreement

LD1502174193 Hamburg DPA in German 1653 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Text] Kiev (DPA)—Germany and Ukraine want to lend a "new quality" to their relations. This is underlined in a joint statement on the future principles governing relations between the two countries, which German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel initialed this evening together with his Ukrainian counterpart Anatoliy Zlenko at the start of two days of talks in Kiev. The agreement is to be signed during the visit by Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, who is likely to travel to Kiev in June.

The declaration states that in overcoming the East-West divide, Germany gained its unity and Ukraine its independence. This has opened fresh prospects for the traditional friendship between the two peoples. In the document the two sides stress the resolution of disputes by peaceful means and adherence to all obligations contained in the CSCE process. With regard to the considerable Ukrainian nuclear arsenal inherited from the former USSR, it underlines the need to press on with the destruction of all weapons of mass destruction and carrier systems. In the statement Kiev declares its support for a policy of non-proliferation and agrees to sign the relevant treaty "as soon as possible." It adds that Germany will assist Ukraine in meeting its disarmament obligations.

Kinkel and his counterpart also signed and initialled a cultural agreement, agreements on scientific-technical cooperation, and on the training and further qualification of managers and an agreement on promoting the protection of German investments in Ukraine. This agreement was completed only shortly before Kinkel's arrival.

After the signing ceremony the German foreign minister met Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk. A talk with Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma, inter alia, is planned for tomorrow.

Kravchuk Meets Kinkel

LD1502190493 Hamburg DPA in German 1818 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Text] [No dateline as received] In his talk with German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk announced that over the next few days his government will be submitting proposals for settling the debts inherited from the former USSR, which amount to $75 billion. Kiev so far has been blocking the rescheduling negotiations between the CIS states and the Western creditor nations due to differences of opinion with Moscow.

He reacted positively to Kinkel's offer of German assistance in destroying liquid rocket propellant in Ukraine. Kinkel also expressed Bonn's wish for an agreement on the maintenance of war graves dating from the Second World War.

Kravchuk strongly denied indications that the UN embargo against the former Yugoslavia is being circumvented on the Danube with the help of official bodies in Ukraine. Foreign companies are transporting their freight in the direction of Serbia "come hell or high water." The Ukrainian authorities also established that German firms are among them. Kravchuk gave no more details in spite of some questions from Kinkel.

Kravchuk Favors Treaty

LD1502214193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2125 GMT 15 Feb 93

[By UKRINFORM-TASS]

[Text] Kiev February 15 TASS—President Leonid Kravchuk of Ukraine spoke out in favour of concluding a treaty between Ukraine and Germany to define the principles governing relations between the two states.

He made this statement at a meeting with the founder and publisher of the DER SPIEGEL magazine Rudolf Augstein, the magazine's editor-in-chief Wolfkam Kaden and its correspondent in Kiev Martina Helmerich today. They arrived in the Ukrainian capital in connection with the opening of the magazine's representative office here.

"At the first stage we sensed that the Western world perceived first and foremost Russia and the policy towards Ukraine and other new states which formed on the territory of the former Soviet Union is pursued through the prism of Russia. We want each Western state including Germany to have its own policy towards Ukraine that would be mindful of our power's vast potential, its peace policy, the desire to be a nuclear-free state, a law-governed, democratic and civilised country, and would take into account its possibility to become a stabilising factor in Europe," Kravchuk said.

Asked by the German journalists about the ratification of the START-1 Treaty and the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, Kravchuk answered: "We will not only destroy nuclear weapons but also reduce conventional armaments. Ukraine firmly abides by its goal of working towards gaining a nuclear-free status."

Nuclear Arms Dismantling Discussed

LD1602115593 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] On 15 February President Leonid Kravchuk received German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel, who arrived in Kiev on a two-day visit. In their talks they touched upon such issues as protection of investments, USSR debts and Ukraine's participation in their repayment, prospects for ratification by Ukraine of the START-I Treaty and its joining the nonproliferation treaty, and prospects for Ukraine's integration into general European processes.

Touching upon the START-I Treaty Leonid Kravchuk noted in particular that Ukraine does not want to change the strategic balance in the world but it needs technical and material assistance in destroying the nuclear weapons which are still situated on its territory. In connection with this, Klaus Kinkel said that Germany is prepared to provide assistance to Ukraine to resolve this problem.

He voiced gratitude to the government of Ukraine for its concern for the fate of persons of German origin who live in the republic.

During his stay in our country Klaus Kinkel will also meet with Ivan Plyushch, chairman of the Supreme Council of Ukraine, and Leonid Kuchma, prime minister of Ukraine, and will hold talks with his opposite number, Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko.

Kravchuk: 'Early Elimination' of Warheads

LD1602070893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0636 GMT 16 Feb 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Anatoliy Grigoryev for TASS]

[Text] Kiev February 16 TASS—"We do not want that Ukraine remains a nuclear state. We want an early elimination of nuclear warheads and not their accumulation", Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk said late on Monday [15 February] while meeting German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel who arrived in Kiev on a two-day official visit to prepare the visit of Chancellor Helmut Kohl scheduled for June.

Kravchuk added that the Ukrainian parliament did not change its attitude to the nuclear-free status.

Kravchuk and Kinkel discussed Ukrainian cooperation in the CSCE and NATO framework, the return of Germans, care for the graves of Germans killed during the Second World War and other problems of mutual interest.

Kinkel said Germany is ready to import Ukrainian-made goods and wants to open a trade mission in Kiev.

"We attribute great importance to your visit. We believe a new phase of strengthening Ukrainian-German relations is linked to it", Kravchuk said.

He and Kinkel signed agreements on mutual protection of investments, on cultural cooperation and on free travel.

Kravchuk: START I To Be Ratified Shortly

LD1602094293 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel of Germany is completing his official visit to Ukraine, during which he held talks with Ukrainian leaders. For one, he brought up the issue of Ukraine's compliance with UN economic sanctions against Yugoslavia in the wake of allegations by international news agencies about Ukrainian oil supplies to Serbia and Montenegro. At his talks with Mr. Kinkel, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk refuted these allegations. Another of the West's concerns is that Ukraine has not yet ratified the START I Treaty on the reduction of nuclear weapons. Leonid Kravchuk assured the minister that it would be ratified in the near future.

Further Reportage on Kravchuk's Visit to London

LD1202213593 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 2300 GMT 11 Feb 93

[Text] As we have already reported, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk's visit to Great Britain is continuing. Oleksiy Solohubenko is on the telephone from London with the details.

[Solohubenko] The assessments of the press are fairly contradictory, contradictory in that there are very many opinions regarding this visit. For example, the first channel of British television [BBC-1], reporting yesterday on the Ukrainian president's visit, said that the times are past when the West gladly received the leaders of new independent states only because they were leaders of new independent states. The assessments are more sober now. The assessments are more restrained now. The impression is, however, that they have begun to receive Ukraine here fairly seriously now.

A very large and representative conference took place here this morning, organized by the Confederation of British Industry, at which the president and members of the government spoke, setting forth the main, the fundamental views of the Ukrainian Government and Ukrainian politicians on the path of reform.

A reception in honor of President Kravchuk took place yesterday. The lord mayor of London spoke at the reception, and noted that among the entrepreneurs, bankers, economists, and people who determine the course of British industry, an interest in Ukraine is increasing. It depends on Ukraine now, he said, whether this interest will lead to concrete results. In his speech, President Kravchuk replied that Ukraine is doing everything possible to improve conditions for Western business, in particular British business, in Ukraine.

If one is to speak of the general course of this visit, then this course, it seems to me, is taking on an increasingly practical tendency. President Kravchuk is to give a news conference today. He will make his own assessment of the results of this visit at this news conference, although the visit will continue. The trip to Scotland is still to come. However, it is already clear that the visit has meant a certain discovery of Ukraine by Britain. This is good not only for Ukrainian Britons, the Ukrainian community in Britain, but also for those British businessmen who have long argued that Ukraine should be taken seriously.

The main problems that arose from the point of view of international relations are those relating to the ratification of the START I Treaty and to sanctions. As far as the START I Treaty is concerned, President Kravchuk repeatedly assured his British colleagues the British Government officials that Ukraine will keep to its word, will hold to this word, and will become a non-nuclear state, and that the START I Treaty on reduction of nuclear arms will be ratified by parliament.

As far as sanctions in Yugoslavia are concerned, President Kravchuk also explained Ukraine's position and said that this problem will be taken off the agenda after the United Nations helps Ukraine to exercise the proper control. So, in fact, if the fundamental moments of this visit are separated out, then probably they are these.

In addition I should say that her majesty the queen gave a breakfast in honor of the president of Ukraine at Buckingham Palace today, at which President Kravchuk was present together with members of the delegation accompanying him. This is the official culmination, one could say, of the visit of the head of the Ukrainian state.

Ends Visit; Agreements Signed

LD1202190593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1740 GMT 12 Feb 93

[By UKRINFORM special correspondent Viktor Demidenko for ITAR- TASS]

[Text] Edinburgh February 12 TASS—After a series of meetings with Scottish enterpreneurs and scientists held here on Friday [12 February], President of Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk has left for home.

He stayed in Great Britain on an official four-day visit, during which important political and economic British-Ukrainian documents were signed, above all, the treaty on principles of relations and cooperation.

The Ukrainian president was received by Queen Elizabeth II, held talks with Prime Minister John Major, British mps, the leadership of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

Great Britain agreed to guarantee security to Ukraine in order to speed up the process of ratification by Ukrainian Parliament of the START-1 Treaty and the joining the treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons by the country.

Speaking in London on Thursday, Leonid Kravchuk expressed hope that Ukrainian parliamentarians will decide the issue positively. However, he said financial aid proposed to Ukraine by the United States to destroy nuclear armaments is not sufficient.

Kravchuk Obtains Guarantees

PM1602094393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Feb 93 pp 1, 3

[Vladimir Mikheyev report: "Leonid Kravchuk Has Returned From London Without the Gold but With Guarantees of Security"]

[Text] John Major's government is interested as much as the Clinton administration in Ukraine's joining the ranks of nonnuclear states, and has officially given Kiev guarantees of security so as to accelerate the process of ratification of the START I Treaty and accession to the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

REUTER, citing officials in London, says that these guarantees are the "standard assurances" which a nuclear power gives to a country acceding to the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons and proclaiming nonnuclear status. Specifically, this means that Britain will not attack Ukraine with weapons of mass destruction if Ukraine refrains from such an attack and that Britain will defend Ukraine at the United Nations if a third state attacks it.

The Ukrainian President promised that the discussion of the START I Treaty will take place right after parliament resumes work 16 February. The delay was due to the need for a comprehensive study of such difficult questions as "procedures for the destruction of nuclear weapons, destruction sites, related expenditure, the ecological effect, and ensuring security." Leonid Kravchuk noted in this regard that Ukraine does not want to change the strategic balance of forces in the world.

Confirming Ukraine's commitment to nonnuclear status in the future, the Ukrainian leader drew attention to the fact that the destruction of nuclear weapons is an expensive business, with the costs of eliminating weapons approximately equal to the costs of creating them. Since the West attaches exceptional importance to reducing the number of members of the "nuclear club," it must have an interest in giving Ukraine technical and material assistance in achieving this goal. London has not yet made any commitments. However, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development has given the go-ahead to the creation of a special fund which will provide resources for Ukraine's nuclear disarmament and subsequently for social programs and environmental protection.

During conversations with representatives of the Confederation of British Industry, Kravchuk informed them that a preferential regime has been introduced in Ukraine for foreign investors who are now exempt from taxation for a period of two to five years; the National Bank of Ukraine will be opening a currency exchange in the near future; and preferential terms are being created for the activity of joint ventures involving foreign capital.

Ukrainian Vice Premier Viktor Pynzenyk predicted in turn that, as soon as "macroeconomic stabilization" is achieved, the grivna will replace the ruble. It is planned to simultaneously introduce internal convertibility—first of the coupon, then of the grivna and to that end the government intends making it mandatory for all enterprises to sell to it one-half of their foreign currency earnings. The latter condition, admittedly, might alarm potential British investors.

Thus the emphasis is now being placed on cooperation and reliance on one's own efforts and not on some miraculous manna from heaven like, for example, the deposit of a few boxes of gold at the Bank of England. This is a reference to 1724, when Hetman Pavlo Polubotok sent his gold to London with some of his cossacks to prevent it from falling into Russian hands. The Hetman himself was later imprisoned by Peter I and soon died. After Ukraine gained independence 14 months ago, parliamentarians decided to seek out these riches. The Bank of England replied that there were no written records and it did not want to delve even deeper into its archives.

It has been calculated that, if you include the accumulated interest, each inhabitant of Ukraine could expect to receive "expenses" of $300,000. Leonid Kravchuk said that people should not get carried away with that idea and should not count on the Cossack gold. Instead he advocated a different method of earning money: "We have to work hard."

President Kravchuk Holds News Conference

LD1302154993 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 2000 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Report by correspondent Petro Ostapenko on news conference by President Leonid Kravchuk at Borispol airport, following his return from Great Britain on 12 February; including recorded excerpts of Kravchuk]

[Text] [Ostapenko] First of all, I will note, it was evident from everything that the president was satisfied. The talks and the agreements, which were concluded at the highest level in Great Britain, evidently give all grounds for such a mood. And so, evaluating the visit, Leonid Kravchuk, said:

[Kravchuk] I believe that the visit has great significance for Ukraine, and probably not just for Ukraine. A whole series of documents was signed. I have already spoken about the treaty regarding the principles of cooperation. Agreements were signed about the protection of investments, on taxation, on cooperation in the sphere of science, education, culture, and a transport agreement. That is, a whole series of agreements were signed. I spoke about this in Great Britain when I was there, that we, during such visits, presented Ukraine, presented our policies, presented our aims—in Europe, in the world, and in the CIS. That is, in this way we showed the world, via such a great country as Great Britain, that there is such a state, there are such policies, which need to be conducted. I understood from the conversation and meeting with Mr. Major, prime minister of Great Britain—there was a meeting with the queen of Great Britain, Elizabeth; there were many meetings with businessmen—I understood that Great Britain has an attitude of respect toward our state, and to our policies, that it understands these policies, and is prepared to cooperate with Ukraine. And we laid down these legal foundations of such cooperation.

Within the framework of the visit, I believe that the meeting at the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development [EBRD] with the directorate was important. There was a conversation with [EBRD President] Jacques Attali. And there we discussed problems in the rendering of direct assistance to Ukraine, and also the very important problems of setting up a fund regarding nuclear safety in Ukraine, and nuclear disarmament, about which I also advanced (?such) a proposal already in Davos, which also found support.

In this way important steps have been taken. Now one should look for mechanisms. One should look for such actions of cooperation, which would ensure the implementation of the adopted agreements, which were signed, and the accords which took place in Great Britain.

[Ostapenko] Naturally, the issue of the future of strategic nuclear weapons in Ukraine also came up during the visit and talks. The talk was also about the period of time for ratification of the START I Treaty by the parliament of our country. But higher state officials assert at all levels, that this will be done when Ukraine receives sufficient guarantees of its security. But will such a great state as Great Britain give them?

[Kravchuk] Yes, Great Britain is giving such guarantees even in the treaty, which we signed about the principles of cooperation. An article has been settled, where it has been said, that the sides consider the problem of Ukraine's accession to the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty very important, and the problem of ratification of the START I Treaty. On its part, Great Britain is giving security guarantees to Ukraine. That is, this is not simply words, as they say, although [laughs] there are words in a treaty as well, but this is now a signed document.

[Ostapenko] The repayment of part of the debt of the former Soviet Union to Western states is a problem for Ukraine today. How much does this influence the results of the talks? After all, it is not a secret, that many believe this to be the fundamental obstacle to Ukraine receiving Western credits. So, the journalists were interested in whether this problem affected the results of talks in Great Britain. This is what Leonid Kravchuk replied:

[Kravchuk] I understood that the Western world is now more interested—I do not exclude the significance of the debt for them, their debt should be returned to the creditors, and this is understood, and we are civilized people, and we should also return it, this is normal—but they are very concerned about the problem of nuclear disarmament now. And again, nowhere, not in conversations with the prime minister, nor in those taking place at other levels, did I perceive a direct dependence, for example, of the rendering of assistance to Ukraine, the recognition of our policies, and so on, in direct dependence on, for example, whether Ukraine will ratify START, or whether it will accede to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. But there is this concern.

And I want you to understand what this concern of the West is about. And we should have an understanding attitude to this concern. Because there was a Union. I have already explained this in Great Britain. And there was one nuclear state. There were other nuclear states. And the strategic situation in the world arose on the basis of these nuclear forces. A corresponding balance arose. Now, other states have appeared on the territory of the former Union. And nuclear weapons are located on their land. It is clear, that if just one of those states declares itself nuclear, then in this way the nuclear states in the world increase immediately. The political and strategic balance changes. And all the accords, (?which existed), are put in doubt, including the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. We should understand this.

We should understand the West, and not only the West, our own people as well, who are concerned over all of this. But we should act responsibly. And we are doing so now. We are determining clearly these problems—Ukraine's security, and you see, we wrote into the treaty with Great Britain. Second, organizational help. Third, financial help. And we are conducting such talks with the United States, and with other states. I have already spoken about my conversation with Jacques Attali. The ecological problem. That is, this needs to be examined as a complex. Compensation for Ukraine for the expenditure, which was put into these weapons, and which could arise in their destruction. That is, everything should be defined.

We should tell all this to the deputies—facts, analysis, responsibility, consequences—so that they vote with awareness, because it is often said, that the Ukrainian parliament is drawing things out. I say, it is not drawing things out. It is analyzing. It has the right to dig down to the truth. This is the right of a deputy. He is responsible to the people. And parliament is responsible to the people. And we are all responsible to the people.

And so, one should write about such things as nuclear strategy, nuclear disarmament, nuclear problems, well, I would say, very subtlely, delicately, with high responsibility, and not to push people to an incorrect understanding of this extraordinarily, I emphasize, extraordinarily important problem today both for Ukraine, and for the states of the former Union, and for the whole world.

[Ostapenko] And so, the conversations during the brief news conference at Borispol airport turned again to this acute, and such a delicate problem as nuclear disarmament. But Leonid Kravchuk also shared his personal impressions of Great Britain and his meetings. In particular, I was interested in the conversation, which took place between Mr. President and representatives of the Ukrainian community in Great Britain.

[Kravchuk] You know, when the president of Ukraine, and the Ukrainian delegation, arrives at a state, where there is a Ukrainian diaspora, well, this is, (?you know), an event for them. And this is an event for us. We meet. We inform each other. I informed them about that which is happening in Ukraine today. They informed me about their problems in Great Britain, about how they would like to help us. That is, this is not some kind of, well, essentially political meeting, so that it is not so that we interfere via our... [changes thought] or, in this way, via citizens, in this case of Great Britain, of Ukrainian descent, in the problems of Great Britain. We can only say thank you to this state, to these people, which received our people in its time, and ensured a normal life for them. They live there normally, and all rights are at their disposal. We are simply informing one another. And that is all.

[Ostapenko] Leonid Kravchuk also replied to other questions from journalists. And here I end my account of the news conference, which the president of Ukraine, held at Borispol airport after returning from Great Britain on 12 February. Petro Ostapenko, World Service Radio Ukraine, prepared this report.

Cited on Soviet Property, START I

OW1302173293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1702 GMT 13 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk feels the Russian claim on the formerly Soviet assets abroad is no obstacle on the road for the division of the formerly Soviet property among the formerly Soviet republics. Upon his return from London Friday [12 February], the Ukrainian leader declared Russia had laid claim to, but not hands on, the formerly Soviet property.

The responsibility for the formerly Soviet property had been discussed by the Commonwealth's summit in Alma-Ata and, said Kravchuk, someone had to assume the material and legal responsibility on behalf of the others.

According to Kravchuk, neither British Prime Minister John Major nor the executives of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development had conditioned aid to Ukraine by the Ukrainian ratification of START-1.

President Kravchuk understood the western concern about the ratification of START-1 because the emergence of a few nuclear republics on former Soviet territory might, indeed, upset the balance of power and cast doubt on all the arms control agreements. The Ukrainian President refused to believe that Ukraine would act so irresponsibly as to fail to ratify START-1.

Leaders Disagree on Yeltsin Decree

OW1502183793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1734 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Report prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature—item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to President Leonid Kravchuk, Yeltsin's decree on the property of the former USSR abroad of February 8 does not supersede the agreements on dividing that property between the former Soviet Republics. What Russia did was to take over the property rights rather than the property, said the Ukrainian President upon his return from London where he had been on an official visit on February 9 to 12. Kravchuk recalled that the issue of the former Union's property had been raised at the Alma-Ata meeting of the CIS heads of states. "Some state had to assume the material and legal responsibility on behalf of all of us", he thinks.

The observers note that the President's view is to some extent at variance with that of other officials, in particular his own associates. On the other hand, as Vladimir Shlyaposhnikov, the President's press secretary told INTERFAX, when he had answered the journalists' questions in the airport, Kravchuk had not had exhaustive information on the Russian action.

"An outspoken manifestation of power politics" was how Aleksandr Yemets, the President's advisor on political and legal matters, saw the Russian action. In a recent interview to Ukrainian radio he said that this document, like other Russian activities, was designed to provoke a negative response of the Ukrainian leadership and compel Ukraine to quit the CIS. For the same purpose, Yemets thinks, Russia obstructs the opening of Ukrainian embassies abroad so that Ukraine cannot have access to full information on the former USSR's assets.

Ivan Plyushch, the Parliament Chairman, said at a Kiev news conference that the Presidents and Governments of the two countries had to negotiate the issue of property abroad. Yeltsin, said Plyushch, had to explain why he had signed that document which, in the words of the Ukrainian speaker, shows "who wants to consolidate the CIS and who destroys the Commonwealth".

IF [INTERFAX] Note: At its meeting last Friday the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium called on the Government to take all necessary steps to protect Ukraine's rights to her share of the former USSR's property abroad.

The Ukrainian Foreign Ministry had issued a statement that any unilateral steps that Russia might take in determining her status as "the successor of the former USSR" would be in conflict with the international law and amount to infringement on the rights of former constituent parts of the USSR. The Moscow actions, the statement continues, distort the essence of earlier accords whereby the CIS member nations agreed to allow Russia inherit only the USSR's UN seat, in particular the seat in the Security Council. They are also incompatible with agreements signed in the framework of the CIS on division of the former USSR's property abroad.

"It's a pity that President Yeltsin's decree on the assets of the former USSR abroad does not include a clause that Russia also inherits the debts of the former USSR", was Premier Leonid Kuchma's comment.

Russian, Ukrainian Officials Discuss Debt in Moscow

OW1202185093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1650 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The first deputy head of the Ukrainian parliament Ihor Yukhnovskyy is arriving in Moscow late Friday [12 February] night to have more talks with the Russian Vice-Premier Aleksandr Shokhin on the sharing of the assets and liabilities of the former USSR.

The debt of the former Soviet Union exceeds 75 billion dollars. Ukraine says it recognizes a debt of 11 billion.

The Ukrainian Deputy Economics Minister, Sergey Teryokhin, has said on Ukrainian television Thursday that his country should abdicate its share of foreign assets and liabilities in Russia's favor. It is very unlikely that Ukraine will be able to start servicing them this year. Last week Aleksandr Shokhin told journalists that Ukraine would be apparently unable to make the first payments for two more years. The Ukrainians will have to give up their share of the foreign assets of the former USSR, too, if they drop their share of their union debt.

At the negotiations in Moscow the sides are likely to discuss President Yeltsin's decree of February 8, which says that Russia undertakes to be the owner of all assets of the former USSR abroad.

Officials Comment on Talks

OW1402080793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0747 GMT 14 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Ukrainian First Vice-Premier Ihor Yukhnovskyy believes that "Kiev has nothing to do but handle its share of the former Union's debts and foreign assets." He told INTERFAX correspondent Boris Zverev in an exclusive interview on Saturday [13 February], following the talks with the Russian governmental delegation, led by Vice-Premier Aleksandr Shokhin, that this is becoming evident now that Boris Yeltsin has passed the decree on Russia's right to all of the former Union's property abroad.

He also said that the Moscow talks dealt with prices on Russian gas and Ukrainian agricultural produce. He said, among other things, that Kiev was not against the switch-over to world prices, but preferred a gradual, not immediate transition to such prices.

Ukraine's First Deputy Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Boris Sobolev told INTERFAX that this time the talks did not produce any documents because, he said, experts are drafting a comprehensive agreement on foreign debt. To quote Sobolev, this document "envisages a mechanism of settling the problem of succession in relation to the former Union's foreign debt and assets." He also expressed hope that such an agreement will be concluded by the end of February.

He disagreed with the opinion that the negotiating parties had not reached any specific accords. "We have agreed to continue drafting a comprehensive agreement," he said.

Russia 'Pushing Ukraine' Out of CIS

OW1402141393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1322 GMT 14 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Ukrainian president's political and legal adviser Aleksandr Yemets described Boris Yeltsin's decree on the former Soviet Union's property abroad, as "an open manifestation of force."

He told Ukrainian TV that "this decree has no legal basis because according to the Alma Ata joint agreements, Russia was authorized to replace the USSR only in individual international organizations."

Yemets believes that the former Union's assets abroad are not limited to embassy buildings, or the Gold and Diamond reserves. Above all, this is foreign investments, he added.

To quote Yemets, the Stankoimport machine-tool building amalgamation alone invested hundreds of billions of rubles in foreign enterprises.

Russia hampers the opening of Ukrainian embassies abroad for the only purpose of not allowing Ukraine to obtain exhaustive information about the former Union's foreign assets. In his opinion, the Russian leaders' decree and other moves, especially the resolution on the territorial status of Sevastopol, taken by the congress of people's deputies, will anger the Ukrainian leaders and make Ukraine withdraw from the CIS.

The Russian government is "deliberately pushing Ukraine out of the CIS," said Aleksandr Yemets.

He also thinks that most of the Russian citizens "suffer from imperial disease" and are vexed by Ukrainian independence. "Ukraine has to take such moods into account, which it does, softly responding to the Russian leaders' moves affecting Ukraine's interests," he said.

National Affairs

Plyushch on Electoral, Foreign Policy Issues

MK1202141193 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Feb 93 p 3

[Vladimir Skachko report on 10 February press conference by Ukrainian parliament speaker Ivan Plyushch: "We Must Not Die Together, But Survive Together. Supreme Soviet Speaker Ivan Plyushch Comes Out in Favor of Seeking Compromise"]

[Text] At his 10 February press conference, Republic Parliament Speaker Ivan Plyushch came out in favor of seeking a compromise in resolving the problems both inside and outside Ukraine. It seems that Ivan Plyushch, having become profoundly disillusioned in his attempts to find the truth in arguments between different political groups, has come out in favor of restoring a renewed version of the old system or creating a new system of managing the processes taking place in the state. "Administrative systems take years to create, and they operate even after a particular leader is replaced. Ukraine is a very young state that needs an administrative system," Ivan Plyushch stated, adding that today Ukraine needs its own customs, banking, and border services to ensure full state supervision of everything happening in the republic. In Ivan Plyushch's view the state cannot exist with transparent borders, it must strictly control imports and exports of goods. Furthermore, Ivan Plyushch stated that Leonid Kuchma's government must operate according to its plan, and parliament must see for itself that it did not make a mistake when it granted the Cabinet of Ministers additional powers.

Dwelling on the characteristics of the internal situation, Plyushch stated that he supports the criticism of state leaders, but does not agree with calls for the unjustified acceleration of various processes, or even accelerated Ukrainianization. On the fact that the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet is soon to examine a new version of the law on language, the speaker said that in his view Ukrainian should be the state language, but under the condition that any form of pressure on the Russian-speaking population is ruled out.

As is well known, the democratic opposition, in particular Rukh, is preparing for a second campaign to collect signatures calling for a referendum on the early dissolution of the present parliament. Plyushch described the democrats' actions as an attempt to secure a monopoly on the truth.

Ivan Plyushch's attitude to the soviets has changed. Whereas formerly he supported the slogan "All power to the soviets!," now Plyushch thinks that the functions of power should be clearly demarcated from top to bottom on the basis of adopted laws. Plyushch thinks that the main task in this connection is to hold direct elections of leaders of local representative organs. He let it be known that according to data from the Ukrainian Institute of Strategic Studies, 11 percent of those polled expressed confidence in the president's rayon-level representatives and 18 percent in the oblast representatives, and 48 percent are in favor of direct elections locally and only 9 percent against. "I do not share the view that people will not turn out for elections. Only 21 percent of those polled said this. If 75 percent of voters turn out, that would be very good," Ivan Plyushch said, adding that the local soviets' desire to surrender their powers only at the same time as the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet is unjustified. "They say that they will only die with parliament. But we must not die together, but survive together," he summed up.

On the future electoral system Ivan Plyushch said that he is now a supporter of a majority system, but he would also accept a mixed system provided that a realistic balance can be found between party interests and the interests of ordinary voters.

Commenting on Russian President Boris Yeltsin's 8 February 1993 edict on the state property of the former USSR abroad, Ivan Plyushch said that nothing terrible has happened, but the Ukrainian side should propose talks at the highest level within the CIS, ask President Yeltsin why he signed this edict, and resolve the problem of the former USSR's debts. In his view the Russian Federation president's edict is grounds for a serious discussion of who really wants to preserve the CIS and who is destroying it. However, Ivan Plyushch came out against unsubstantiated accusations against Russia, adding that at the present stage Ukraine should develop Ukrainian-Russian trade ties, particularly in the sphere of energy sources, as it has no other opportunity. The adoption of the Ukrainian state budget for this year hinges on Russian energy sources, and in Ivan Plyushch's view, the state budget cannot be adopted without having clearly established the cost of Russian petroleum products, which account for a significant proportion of the prime cost of Ukrainian products and on which the success of the republic's sowing campaign this year depends.

Touching on the problem of the Ukrainian parliament's ratification of the START I Treaty, Plyushch stated that the deputies will ratify it if they are sure, first, that the process of eliminating nuclear weapons will take place without material losses to Ukraine and, second, if Ukraine receives guarantees of its own security. "The date of ratification of the treaty—February, March, or April—is not a problem for us. For us, the main thing is to reassure the people," Plyushch said. He also stated that under a state program not yet adopted by parliament, a reduction of Ukraine's Armed Forces, which today number more than 700,000 men, is planned. The speaker said that under this program in the first two years the Ukrainian Army would be reduced to 400,000, and in the next five-seven years to 200,000-225,000. The main problem here is the absence of a social security program for servicemen.

On Ukraine's possible participation in the CIS Interparliamentary Assembly, Plyushch said that this is irrelevant to Ukraine, since it intends to integrate into Europe, which already has its own interparliamentary structures, whereas the creation of such structures in the CIS would only mean spending more money. Interparliamentary cooperation, in Plyushch's view, should take place at the level of bilateral ties, when parliamentary delegations from two countries prepare the necessary documents and submit them to their national parliaments for ratification.

Kravchuk Calls For New Constitution, Elections

LD1602120793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1138 GMT 16 Feb 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Viktor Demidenko for TASS]

[Text] Voroshilovgrad February 16 TASS—Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk called on Tuesday [16 February] to adopt a new constitution of the country and hold new parliamentary and presidential elections if the people wish so. The proposal might mean a nationwide referendum on the issue.

"It is necessary now to adopt a new constitution and, according to the new main law, hold new elections, including those of the president, if the people wish so. What people say will determine our policy", he said upon arrival in Voroshilovgrad region of Ukraine.

Kravchuk also called to decide whether to boost relations with Russia or continue the policy of alienation. "I arrived here to consult the people, to decide how to live: Whether to unite and work to take Ukraine out of the crisis or to continue discussing who is the elder and who is the younger (brother)", he said clearly referring to Russia which was called the "elder brother" in the former Soviet times and later accused of commanding "younger brothers".

In Voroshilovgrad Kravchuk visited the mine where an explosion claimed dozens of miners' lives last summer and talked with workers.

Later in the day he is to meet local industrialists and entrepreneurs.

Defense Minister Outlines Aims of Sevastopol Visit

LD1202194493 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 2300 GMT 11 Feb 93

[Text] The working trip to Sevastopol by Ukrainian Defense Minister Konstyantyn Morozov ended on 11 February. He evaluated it as positive. At a news conference in Sevastopol on 11 February, Morozov described the aim of his visit as the need to define the situation more precisely, formulate a new view of the problems of the Black Sea Fleet and the city, and acquaint himself with the command of the Fleet and officers of the directorate of the Naval Forces of Ukraine.

Touching on the issue of the division of the Black Sea Fleet, Konstyantyn Morozov emphasized that this process should take place in accordance with the Yalta agreement. Konstyantyn Morozov evaluated positively the attitudes of ships' crews, voiced the hope that the appointment of Eduard Baltin as commander of the Black Sea Fleet will mean a warming in relations between Ukraine and Russia, and replied to other questions from those present.

Crimean Parliament Speaker on Results of Kuchma Trip

MK1302130593 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 Feb 93 p 3

[Aleksandr Pilat report: "'Only We Can Save Ourselves Today,' Crimean Parliament Speaker Nikolay Bagrov Stated"]

[Text] A session of the Crimean Supreme Soviet Presidium discussed the results of Ukrainian Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma's visit to the republic. Nikolay Bagrov reported that in the near future a special decree of the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers on the Crimea will be adopted, in accordance with the Ukrainian Law "On the Demarcation of Powers Between Organs of State Power of Ukraine and the Republic of Crimea."

Ukraine will give Crimea substantial assistance for social programs and problems of the fuel and energy complex. During Leonid Kuchma's visit to the Crimea an agreement in principle was reached to the effect that Ukraine will raise the question of funds being allocated by Russia and the Central Asian states to implement the program for the return of deported peoples to the Crimea. The speaker announced that last year 500 million rubles [R] was received from Russia for this purpose, but this year receipts from the Russian Federation Finance ministry have stopped. "But we do not regard the matter as closed. We will talk with the Russian leadership again," Nikolay Bagrov said.

He also announced that Russia is not doing very well at fulfilling its promise to give Ukraine 20 million of the 48 million tonnes of petroleum products it needs, and that is why the Crimea is now conducting talks with Tatarstan: "In exchange for agricultural products I think we will be able to obtain the necessary quantity of petroleum products from Tatarstan."

The Crimean parliament speaker stated that the Crimea will continue its bilateral cooperation with Yakutia (Sakha). Last year it contributed R42 million to the peninsula's economic complex, and it is proposed that this year the contribution will be five times higher. "Only we can save ourselves today," Nikolay Bagrov observed.

Belarus

Kebich Comments on Nation's History, Foreign Influence

OW1202200293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1759 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Report prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature—item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "I was convinced from the very beginning that Gorbachev's reforms would fail, since they were built on a false ideology—on the nullification of the historic accomplishments of the people, on the shameless deposing of once-respected leaders, on the betrayal of comrades and the rejection of the past." So spoke Belarusian Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich in an interview passed to INTERFAX by the head of state's press service. Kebich gave the interview on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the birth of Pyotr Masherov, former first secretary of the Belarusian Communist Party's central committee.

IF [INTERFAX] Note: Masherov ruled Belarus for 15 years, from 1965 until October 1980, when he died in an automobile accident. According to official information given by Kebich in the interview, "the rate of growth of the gross national product in these years was 308%, 417% for industry and 125% for agriculture, and the national income tripled." An event dedicated to the memory of the former Belarusian leader in Minsk on 13 February; it is expected to be attended by representatives of the current Belarusian leadership.

Kebich emphasized in the interview that he was "far from idealizing the past," but all the same could not "erase an epoch from our history simply because somebody does not like the word 'socialism.'" In his opinion, "an independent Belarus exists today only because an entire generation, hundreds and thousands of devotees, from Skarina, Kalinovsky to Kupala, Kolas, and Masherov, selflessly created, fostered, and defended the land, the traditions of our ancestors, the spirit and flesh of the nation." Kebich confirmed his adherence to the course of transition to a market economy, but spoke out against the "impoverishment and deception of the people." "If there is to be a market, it must be with solid guarantees of social security and must give priority to the manufacturer rather than the speculator. If there is privatization, it will be with equal rights to property for all, not just for the chosen," emphasized Kebich.

The foreign ways, manners, words, thoughts, and foreign standards which are flowing in are trampling the primordial feelings of the people and taking away their morality," emphasized Kebich. He is very concerned that "the intelligentsia—the spiritual instructors of the people—is becoming dependent upon sponsors." The premier said it was a troubling and complex situation when "the young are left without ideals and trust in the future."

Kebich considers the strengthening of ties with Russia and other neighboring countries "the cardinal, and perhaps, fateful, goal for Belarusians." From the point of view of internal problems, he said, it makes sense to concentrate all attention in the next few years on agriculture. The cabinet head is convinced that "in the coming decades, agriculture will become one of the basic factors determining the development of the republic." He supposes that the village may solve not only the key question of the food supply, but could also solve the problem of how to employ the extra labor of the cities.

Kebich on Key Tasks of Foreign, Domestic Policy

WS1502112393 Minsk BELINFORM in Russian 1032 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Text] Today's leading Belarusian newspapers carry an interview with Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich in which he states: "I believe that the strengthening of ties with Russia and other close neighbors is a cardinal and even fatal issue for our foreign policy."

According to the prime minister, the main domestic task is to concentrate all attention on agriculture for several years. "I think that agriculture will become one of the key factors determining the development of our Republic in the coming decades," stated the head of the government. "Under the current circumstances, the countryside is not only solving the key problem of foodstuffs but it will also manage to receive the redundant labor force from the towns in the near future, given our due attention to it. This process is an inevitable consequence of industrial changes." V. Kebich also believes that the countryside will become a basis for the development of small production.

Characterizing Belarus' political situation, the prime minister noted that the legislative opposition was calling for a complete rejection of the past and the "construction of a new but indefinite fairy-tale shrine." The so-called Westerners [zapadniki] are urging the government to renounce the union with Russia and to join Europe, "however, they do not explain how our national interests should be secured there."

Touching on the CIS policy, V. Kebich noted that the breaking of economic ties had already brought us to a crisis and had become the primary cause of many current problems and upheavals. If the situation does not improve in the future, the crisis will become deeper. This means that we must strengthen the Commonwealth of Independent States, coordinate agreements, and observe interests of others. "This is a great historic responsibility of the CIS leaders before their people," stressed the Belarusian prime minister.

Official Speaks on Steps To Fight Crime

OW1202214793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1800 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Report prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature—item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of the Supreme Soviet Stanislav Shushkevich and Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich are expected to take part in an assembly on legislation and the fight against crime, which should take place February 13th in Minsk.

In an exclusive interview with an INTERFAX correspondent, first deputy head of the Council of Ministers for nationality issues, Gennadiy Kozlov, said that according to data from the CIS statistics committee, the number of registered crimes in Belarus is now somewhat lower than in certain other Commonwealth states. In his words, however, 68.8% of the republic's population call the increase in crime "the most worrying and dangerous occurrence of the present time." Recently, Kozlov said, the "republic has been swamped by a wave of crashes," which total about 70% of all crimes committed in Belarus. At the same time, the 'coefficient for useful action by "third authorities" has dropped severely,' he thinks. Kozlov said that in 60% of investigations, courts do not resolve anything at all.

The Belarusian government has given the order to build five new prisons in the republic in the near future. "This is linked to strict demands by the Russian side until the end of this year to receive about 5000 Belarusians presently in Russian correctional institutions," said the first deputy head of the department.

IF [INTERFAX] Note: The state budget has allocated 50 billion rubles for law enforcement agencies in 1993.

Kozlov informed that the republican government plans to push for the creation of a Coordinating council to combat crime within the national security council of Belarus and a corresponding State Secretariat in the Cabinet. "There is a plan to propose that the heads of CIS countries consider the draft agreement on coordinating efforts to fight crime," Kozlov said. In his words, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia have already announced their desire to join such an agreement as associated members.

Kozlov was also in favor of the revival in some form or another of peoples' patrols to fight street crime.

Sushkevich Comments on Crime

OW1502182793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1730 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Report prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature—item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Belarusian parliament head Stanislav Shushkevich has criticized the work of the republic's law-enforcement agencies, in particular the ministry of internal affairs. Appearing at a conference of heads of law-enforcement agencies and local councils and commissions on law and order, Shushkevich reported that in recent months, some 3,500 cases of gross human rights violations by the militia had been registered. He also said that situations in which "the Lithuanian militia has arrested people on Belarusian territory with the help of local representatives of the local ministry of internal affairs" were unacceptable.

Shushkevich believes that the growth of criminality in society is to a significant extent "evidence that our work is flawed." The parliament head called on law-enforcement authorities to do everything possible so that "people feel themselves protected from the criminal intentions of all types of lawbreakers." In his opinion, attention should immediately be focused on a reworking of the republic's constitution and the introduction of legislative measures against crime, including corruption and lawbreaking by law- enforcement officials. Shushkevich appealed to the population to help law-enforcement officials in any way possible so that no criminals go unpunished.

IF [INTERFAX] Note: Belarusian First Vice-Premier Mikhail Myasnikovich said in a conversation with an INTERFAX correspondent that it makes no sense to dramatize the situation: "Criminality in the republic has not increased so much that people have to fear being killed as they leave their homes." According to Myasnikovich, approximately 50 billion rubles were allocated for the support of law-enforcement agencies in the current year, a sum equal to 3.5% of the republic's state budget.

Defense Minister Transfers Servicemen to Reserves

WS1602115393 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1000 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] The Belarusian Defense Minister Pavel Kozlovskiy has issued an order to transfer all the servicemen who have the right to pensions to the reserve, irrespective of their provisions for housing. In protest, two senior officers from Brest Garrison have threatened to go on a hunger strike.

Officers Threaten Hunger Strike

WS1602114693 Minsk BELINFORM in Russian 1223 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Text] The Minsk Union of Retired Officers has adopted the appeal to the Belarusian Supreme Council and the Belarusian Cabinet of Ministers. The retired officers have demanded a solution to their housing problems. There are more than 2,000 retired officers in Minsk without housing. In the event that their demand is ignored, the officers threatened to start a hunger strike and to address the United Nations for help.

Moldova

Opposition Leader Warns of Restoration of Former Regime

AU1502191693 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 11 Feb 93 p 3

[Interview with Iurie Rosca, executive president of the Christian-Democratic Popular Front of Moldova, by unidentified reporter; place and date not given: The Possibility of Joining CIS Is Much Greater than that of a Speedy Reunification"]

[Text] [Reporter] Who is going to participate in the alliance that is taking shape in Bessarabia?

[Rosca] The Association of Former Political Detainees, and the Association of Victims of Communist Oppression. The first is dealing with problems of war veterans, while the second is dealing with the problems of those who were deported to Siberia. Then there are the Democratic Party headed by Gheorghe Ghimpu, the Christian-Democratic Party headed by Mr. Dubrovski, the Organization of Christian-Democratic Youth, and the Christian-Democratic Women's League. Hence it is an alliance that is to rally large or small political formations with the same political goal: Those who feel that attempts are being made in Moldova to restore—if not the former regime—then the former clan to power, as well as those who want to contribute to the democratization of our society and, perhaps, make a common cause in case of primaries (but not only primaries).

[Reporter] On the other hand, there was talk about the possibility of the emergence of a new political formation around the former president of parliament, Mr. Mosanu. We do not know whether this will happen, but would there be room for such a political formation within the alliance you mentioned?

[Rosca] Absolutely. But perhaps Mr. Mosanu will opt for another political formation or form a new one—he is well-known, we like him very much, and we are not the only ones. We would certainly be glad, and it is actually positive for us to be in the same political bloc.

[Reporter] You always speak of the anti-CIS motivation of this alliance. Does this mean that you have abandoned another subject which so far has been very evident, namely the subject of the reunification?

[Rosca] Absolutely not. The possibility of joining the CIS is much greater than that of a speedy union, however. None of the pro-union formations intends to renounce, lessen, or modify its doctrine. The only thing is that "CIS topics are fashionable" at this point and we have to try to counteract this action by Russia.

President Warns of Pro-Romanian Coup

OW1202223093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2007 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The advocates of Moldova's merger with Romania are planning a coup, President Mircea Snegur told a meeting of workers of the agro-industrial complex. "As President of the Republic I must warn the people of this clear and present danger", he said.

Snegur emphasized that resignations of former Moldovan Parliament leaders were part of a murky scheme. He thinks that former speaker Alexandru Mochanu and his followers wanted to "destabilize the situation in the country, trigger manifestations in Chisinau, establish a dictatorship of the street mob, and stage a coup".

Snegur has reiterated his commitment to independent statehood for Moldova. He said that the campaign the opposition started against holding a referendum on the Republic's status "subverts the national ideals, flares up anti-Romanian feelings, and lays the groundwork for return to power of the forces that make no secret of their nostalgia for a recent past".

He called for preservation of the existing borders, expansion of links with and gradual integration into Romania, and establishing direct bilateral links with CIS member nations.

The president said that for the Tiraspol leaders "await like the manna a call by certain politicos in Chisinau for a merger with Romania", for otherwise "the setting up of parallel authorities in that area would make no sense".

Militiamen Patrol Streets

LD1402164293 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1300 GMT 14 Feb 93

[Text] Militiamen have appeared in Chisinau, patrolling streets together with the police. The guard of the TV center has been intensified. This measure has been undertaken following a recent statement by President Snegur alleging that a coup d'etat is being prepared, EZHEDNEVNAYA GLASNOST reports.

Further on President's Warning

OW1502175893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1733 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Report prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature—item transmitted via KYODO; quotation marks as received]

[Text] "All the recent developments in Moldova suggest that certain forces are gearing up for a coup, when constitutional power bodies would be dislodged and the situation would be controlled by the rule of the mob.

This would pave the way for these forces toward their final objective - unification of Moldova and Romania."

President Mircea Snegur said this at his recent meeting with the workers of the republic's agro-industrial complex. "As the President of Moldova, I deem it my duty to warn the people of Moldova of this threat which has become very realistic, given our geopolitical situation and the balance of forces in the republic," he said.

President Snegur was highly disparaging in regard to the proponents of Moldova's unification with Romania, saying that they have refrained from their theoretical speculations and passed over to practical steps." "The ambitions of these vain politicians," he went on, "are likely to bring about a rampage in our young independent country. They are trying to screen their thirst for revenge and gainful interests by the now fashionable disguise of noble ideals and planetary social justice. These everlasting professional revolutionaries and jingoists seek to remove all the other people from their way, contending only they alone can save the nation." In the words of Mircea Snegur, representatives of the opposition have unleashed a demagogic campaign, accusing the president, who was elected by a universal direct vote, of plotting a coup. It was with that goal in mind, they allege, that he made his statement on December 24, emphasizing the need to consult with the people and put an end to the rumors that Moldova is going to unite with Romania. The president characterized as "distorted, erratic, and perverted" the logics of the opposition leaders.

Mircea Snegur said his new year address was nothing other than his last resort to warn the Moldovan people of the pending blow on the republic's independence. He reiterated his adherence to his statement then, and pledged his commitment to build Moldova as an independent state.

"I am confident," the President said, "the ongoing smear campaign against the republic's statehood undermines national ideals, promotes 'Romano-phobia' and prepares grounds for the advent of the political forces which are not even concealing their nostalgic sentiments for the republic's recent past." Mircea Snegur has called for a moratorium on the changes of the existing borders and insisted that Moldova pursue the policy of openness with all the countries throughout the world, first and foremost, with Romania, which has long been connected with Moldova by common traditions, language, culture and history. The president has called for further gradual integration with Romania in light of present day realities in various spheres. He also called on the republic's government not to venture any steps directed against Romania or its people, emphasizing that "Romanophobia cannot be done away with either by presidential decrees or parliamentary resolutions." President Snegur is still insisting on the establishment of direct bilateral relations with Commonwealth states. Severing relations with these states "as a result of inconsiderate political steps, he said, is likely to further aggravate the crisis and lead to an immense economic catastrophe and serious social upheavals." In the words of the Moldovan president, the political leaders in Tiraspol are "eagerly waiting for some of the politicians in Chisinau to speak of the need for Moldova to unite with "Romania." Without such statements, all "their activities aimed at creating parallel power structures in Trans-Dniester become senseless," he said.

Mircea Snegur said the resignation of the republic's former parliament head was a logical outcome of his confrontation with the parliamentary majority and the people of Moldova.

President Snegur opines the parliament speaker and his followers strove to destabilize the situation in the republic, undermine Moldova's prestige on the international arena, provoke street manifestations in Chisinau, establish the dictatorship of the street mob, thereby provoke a coup in the republic.

Prime Minister Believes 1993 Crucial for Economy

OW1402155193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1324 GMT 14 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The current year must become crucial for Moldovan economy, Moldova's Prime Minister Andrei Sangeli told workers of the agro-industrial complex on Friday [12 February]. He said that by the end of the first half of the year, economic recession must be stopped.

He also said that economic stability will help Moldova restore contacts with the former Union republics and ensure its transitional to market relations. The privatization program will be implemented gradually to ensure that it do not have negative social consequences, he added.

Assessing the possibility of yet another armed conflict in Moldova, Sangeli said that as long as Moldova is run by the current government, "the cannons will be silent".

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev Interviewed on Future of CIS

PM1602093193 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 13 Feb 93 pp 1,6

[Interview with Nursultan Nazarbayev, president of the Republic of Kazakhstan, by N. Garifullina in Alma-Ata, 6 February 1993: "A Commonsense Strategy"—first three paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] Alma-Ata, 6 Feb— Trying to assess political leaders is as complex as it is thankless: You always run the risk of being accused of bias. Nevertheless, there are criteria and actions which enable you to judge a politician with a certain degree of objectivity. For example, in the consciouness of the peoples the participants in the Belovezhskaya Forest deal—Yeltsin, Kravchuk, and Shushkevich—symbolize the destruction of a great country. At the same time the name of Nursultan Nazarbayev, president of Kazakhstan, is firmly associated with the processes of integration. Suffice it to recall that it was he who proposed creating the councils of heads of states and of governments, the interparliamentary assembly, the council of ministers, the coordinating consultative economic council, the banking union and the interstate bank, and the economic court of the CIS. His initiatives on problem of the Commonwealth's defense are well known, too.

In the first month of the new year Nazarbayev again became the subject of discussion: Central Asia—the union of five Asian republics—was created and in Alma-Ata there was a proposal to create an oil exporters' organization, a kind of "mini-OPEC" of the CIS, and finally there is the Minsk meeting which, for all its flaws and failings, owes its undoubted success to a considerable extent to the leader of Kazakhstan.

Our conversation took place in Alma-Ata at the beginning of February.

[Garifullina] Nursultan Abishevich, there is great respect in Russia for your efforts to strengthen the CIS. Your stand regarding the renewal of the Union also won quite a few admirers in its day. How do you view the past year in the CIS—the first year without the Union?

[Nazarbayev] There is hardly any point in talking now about the situation when we wanted to renew the USSR or create the Union of Sovereign States. All that is in the past. Now we have the Commonwealth of Independent States. That is the reality. On the whole I would assess the past turbulent year in these terms: The CIS is nevertheless better than a complete and final collapse. Whatever else, not all the ties have been broken off, the heads of states and governments hold meetings and discuss things... I am not going to list how many proposals on the creation of unifying and coordinating organs I made at all 10 sessions. And, just imagine, there were people who said in this connection that I want to restore the center, the empire...

I admit that the Minsk meeting gave me some satisfaction. As is well known, seven states signed the charter and the treaty on the creation of a single banking system, the ruble zone, securities, the council of ministers, defense... But what do you need for a normal life? You need a single economic and customs area, you have to recognize a single ruble, and everyone has to work together to stabilize that ruble, you need a common defense area... Incidentally, the charter expressed our proposal on the creation of an economic coordination committee. I think that it will include high-level representatives and that the committee will monitor the fulfillment of our decisions.

These seven states could form the nucleus of the CIS. Having signed the Minsk documents they must now go further along the path of strengthening it. Is that not so?

I recently took part in the work of the EEC Commission and I met with Delors. The Europeans' position is this: We now have 12 states but Britain and Denmark have doubts about the Maastricht accords—whether to adopt them or not. The others are saying: Well, if these two countries do not accept them we will create our own union as a group of 10. Why should we not follow their example? After all, it is not a question of returning to the old ways, it is not even a question of a confederation. We are in a different situation, each one cherishes its own sovereignty and is afraid of a return to the past... Let us see what the effect of the Minsk meeting will be. Kazakhstan for its part will do everything it can to ensure that these latest accords do work.

[Garifullina] But how they can really be made to work for consolidation?

[Nazarbayev] There are many ways. At the International Forum of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs in Alma-Ata attended by representatives of 22 states—all 15 republics of the former Union, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Poland...—I proposed that since the politicians are not yet ready, what is to stop, say, the industry ministers of all 15 states of the former Union from meeting and organizing a Union of Industrialists, I would call it the Industrial Party. After all, it is the industrialists who suffer most from this collapse by not supplying one another with raw materials, machinery, and equipment.

I proposed this: Meet here in Alma-Ata, we will create all the conditions for the meeting. Meet and reach agreement...

Let the agrarians of all 15 republics do the same. They could meet with agricultural machine builders, for example in our country, at Akmola, before the spring field work, and create their own union. The oil and gas workers could do likewise. There you have a path toward the creation of a normal union. That is how the EC was born, too. The steel and coal producers agreed among themselves and united because it benefited them all.

We must all ultimately understand that if we really want to ensure our peoples a worthy future and prosperity we must begin with the economy because without the economy no calls to unification will succeed.

Look at Ukraine. Well, everyone can see that Ukraine's output is needed first and foremost by the countries of the CIS, it is not competitive in the West. Even the Baltic region's output is not competitive. But here the market is boundless. If we unite, the plants and factories will begin working and helping one another. Now people are coming to understand the simple truth that without one another we simply cannot get out of the crisis and ensure our people a normal human existence.

[Garifullina] What role do you assign to Russia in strengthening the CIS?

[Nazarbayev] Regardless of personal pride people must understand that without Russia the CIS will collapse. I think that the integrity of Russia itself is at stake. I am convinced that strategically it would not be beneficial to Russia itself if we parted company. A "divorce" is not in our peoples' interests.

I have always said that strategically Kazakhstan will be with Russia and the Russian people, because relations between Russia and Kazakhstan determine whether relations among all the CIS states will continue and be preserved. That is why we all need stability in Russia. Stability is necessary for Russia itself and for all the other states. We would very much like the constitutional organs of power to work together and in harmony.

[Garifullina] At the recent founding conference of the "People's Unity of Kazakhstan" Union support was expressed for Kazakhstan's social economic strategy. What is the essence of that strategy?

[Nazarbayev] It is a strategy for the formation of an independent and sovereign Kazakhstan. The general aim is to build a democratic state, a socially oriented market economy, and an ideology based on the values of human civilization and democratic principles. The restoration of the declared basic concepts of moral consciousness—such as honesty, humanism, conscience, the economic, political, and spiritual freedom of the individual could be the cornerstone of the new system of social values...

There is still work to be done on elaborating the new state ideology. Here in Kazakhstan we espouse the following principle: the improvement of life is the question facing the present generation, not the "radiant future," each person's prosperity is in his own hands.

[Garifullina] But the crisis which has gripped all the CIS countries since the collapse of the Union cannot have bypassed Kazakhstan. Even here, at the conference, people spoke about the impoverishment of a vast section of the people...

[Nazarbayev] Where do I see the solution to the prevailing situation? In faster progress along the path of reforms. In the program which has now been presented to the Supreme Soviet we are moving away from euphoria and the blind following in the footsteps of Russia or anyone else and are formulating our own position, the Kazakhstan form of privatization. For example, defense enterprises, the railroads, communications, thermal power engineering, space, and all large-scale industry engaged in the processing of minerals, such as gold and diamonds, Kazakhstan's wealth, will remain in state ownership... We intend to transform the mineral processing enterprises into state national joint-stock companies where the state holds the controling stake, does not exercise direct management, but does take part in the placement of directors. Thereafter it will be purely a matter of market relations: 50 percent of the shares remaining in their hands will be sold to the workers of their own and other enterprises, 20 percent to the whole people of Kazakhstan.

[Garifullina] The program theses of the "People's Unity of Kazakhstan" union state that this is a "political organization in support of the consistent reforms of President N.A. Nazarbayev." What is this therefore, a president's party?

[Nazarbayev] I received a similar message at the conference. It read: "Is the president creating a party for himself?" No, this is not the case. The Union is being created to support our policy and general line and to consolidate the people's efforts at this difficult period. What is wrong with that? Under the constitution I do not have the right to hold office in sociopolitical organizations. But when I studied the new union's program I saw that its aims are noble and its charter corresponds to the charters of democratic movements that are adopted throughout the world. That being so, why should I not be with them?

[Garifullina] Two years ago the MOLODAYA GVARDIYA Publishing House published your book entitled "Without Right and Left" ["Bez pravykh i levykh"]. Do you still adhere to that position?

[Nazarbayev] My system of views knows neither extreme right nor extreme left. Centrism takes the best that the left and right have to offer and discards the extremes because that way lie clashes and bloodshed.

[Garifullina] How are you managing in the present tragic era of strife and bloodshed to preserve stability and interethnic peace in Kazakhstan?

[Nazarbayev] These are difficult and bitter times and anyone who stirs society and incites people to clashes bears a historic responsibility for whatever might happen. I do not tire of urging all my compatriots to unite. I am convinced that only unity can ensure peace and prosperity for our land—the common motherland of all citizens of the republic regardless of ethnic origin. That was why the Congress of the Peoples of Kazakhstan was held here and now, as you can see, the "People's Unity of Kazakhstan" union has been created. I think that the idea of creating an interparty assembly and the unification of all political forces around a roundtable is promising. Such a union is also necessary in our republic to resist national radicalism which is inevitable when a young state of any type is going through the formative period. Those people who try to resolve the problems of their own ethnic group at the expense of others and inflame ethnic strife in the process are acting contrary to the laws of history. But without a powerful counterbalance to national extremism in our multinational country a single path leads to historical oblivion.

Naturally all this worries me tremendously as president and as an ordinary man. I was sincerely glad that a group of well known social figures publicly advocated the friendship of the peoples. Unfortunately to some people this concept has become associated with the imperial past. However, this phrase really cannot be replaced by anything else, there is no adequate synonym for it. But the main thing is that for Kazakhstan's historical past it is not far-fetched in any way. Friendship, accord, and the coexistence of the peoples based on respect are the firm foundation of political stability in Kazakhstan. It is no coincidence that recently the 12 presidents of the largest Japanese companies specially sought me out day and night in Davos and when I was able to meet with them late at night they said quite frankly: We want cooperation with Kazakhstan because you have stability and it is possible to work with you.

Stability in the republic is my aim and my sacred policy and I shall not deviate from it. I regret that when I persistently advocate structures to coordinate the economy of the CIS some people immediately begin accusing me of reviving "imperial thinking." Some go even further and blame the tsarist empire and then the Soviet empire for all the problems which peoples great and small are going through in the world, but there are others who believe that the Russians are to blame... I know such feelings... But I have always said that unless we renounce this blasphemous attitude toward a great people with whom our forefathers, fathers, we ourselves, our children, and our grandchildren have lived in harmony we will become like mankurts. [zombie-like characters in Aytmatov novel] The Russian people have suffered most of all. During the Great Patriotic War who suffered the heaviest losses? The Russians. And in the thirties more Russians died from famine and repressions than any other nationality. That is why I say to my opponents: Do not identify the Russian people with the empire.

One people will never become happy at another people's expense. To take a purely pragmatic approach—it is very beneficial to us, for example, that the republic is multiethnic. Who is working in industry and agriculture today? Who is going to work on the economy? Incidentally I find it sincerely regrettable when a member of the German population goes to Germany and I do everything in my power to persuade the German citizens of Kazakhstan to remain here at home. That was the main theme in my talks with Chancellor Kohl. And then why should we reject all the good things that existed in our life? Friendship, the harmony of the peoples, the stability of the state—it is on that foundation alone that we can think about future progress. That, if you will is the creed of my nationalities policy.

[Garifullina] The new Constitution of Kazakhstan was adopted recently: It contains fine articles on civil and political rights and freedoms. In that connection I must ask you a question as former first secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee. As is well known, the communists are trying to revive the party but the Justice Ministry will not register it. How do you regard that fact and does communist ideology have the right to exist in Kazakhstan?

[Nazarbayev] Of course! The Communist Party has the right, like all other organizations. The Communist Party was never banned or closed down in Kazakhstan. The congress of the former Communist Party, the congress itself decided to rename the party and revise its charter and program and the Socialist Party declared itself the heir to the Communist Party. But I am not interfering in these matters. There is a law on public associations and the Justice Ministry is guided by it. What is the problem there? The only obstacle to registration is if the charter or program of a party or organization contravenes our constitution and laws. There are no other obstacles.

[Garifullina] What is your prediction, Nursultan Abishevich, about the future of the CIS? Will it survive or not?

[Nazarbayev] I think that the industrialists or, as we used to say, working people, the Industrial Union, the Agrarian Union, and the Union of Oil and Gas Workers should urge the politicians to ensure that the CIS become stronger and functions normally—while preserving the sovereignty and independence of all states, of course. We have no alternative. Everyone has finally understood that no one in the West is going to give us something for nothing. Where are the $24 billion promised to Russia? Where are the $7 billion promised to Gorbachev? All that is nothing but political maneuvering! Bush announced the 24 billion when he had a political purpose for doing that. So that is what he did...

Ultimately it is necessary to understand that developing the economy and prosperity is our affair alone and it depends on us and our work. It is necessary to organize people's labor and work. Unless we unite we will head for further and even greater collapse. But if we all want to revive the economy and improve people's lives common sense must push us toward creating a normal CIS and a single economic area. But we must not create barriers or borders between ourselves.

I hope that the documents signed in Minsk and the charter, which embraces all aspects of CIS activity, will give life to the CIS and that we will begin working in a new way—a coordinated, intelligent way pursuing the main aim, which is the well being of the people. I believe in the future.

[Garifullina] Thank you for this conversation.

Nazarbayev Arrives in Cairo for Official Visit

LD1302183293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1407 GMT 13 Feb 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Yelistratov]

[Text] Cairo, 13 Feb—Nursultan Nazarbayev, president of the Republic of Kazakhstan, arrived in Egypt today on a three-day official visit. Husni Mubarak, president of the Arab Republic of Egypt, met his guest at Cairo airport. The flags of Kazakhstan and Egypt were raised in front of al-Qubbah Palace, which will serve as the Kazakhstan leader's residence during his visit to Cairo. The national anthems were played and an honor guard presented.

During his first visit to Egypt Nursultan Nazarbayev will hold negotiations with Husni Mubarak and Egyptian Prime Minister 'Atif Sidqi and will address the deputies of the People's Assembly (the parliament) of Egypt. The press secretary for Kazakhstan's president has told an ITAR-TASS correspondent that they will mainly speak about the development of bilateral economic ties and relations in the field of education and culture. The leaders of Kazakhstan and Egypt also plan to discuss the situation in the republics of the former Soviet Union and the situation in the Middle East region. Local political circles note that special attention at the meeting between the two presidents will be given to Nursultan Nazarbayev's announcement that Kazakhstan is prepared to play the role of mediator in the normalization of relations between Egypt and Iran.

Talks With Mubarak; Signs Treaty

LD1402151993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1314 GMT 14 Feb 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Georgiy Shelenkov]

[Text] Cairo, 14 Feb—Talks between Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev and Egyptian President Husni Mubarak have resumed, withing the framework of the former's visit to Egypt.

According to a report from Muhammad 'Abd-al-Mun'im, the Egyptian leader's press secretary, in the course of the one-to-one meeting, which lasted an hour and a half, the sides discussed how to develop bilateral cooperation. The presidents exchanged opinions on the problems of developing democracy and ensuring civilian freedoms, they discussed the role that the legislative bodies, as well as the press and other mass media, play in a democratic society. Mubarak and Nazarbayev, the press secretary said, stressed the importance of ensuring national stability, not allowing any kind of manifestations of extremism, and noted the favorable influence of religion on the development of humanism.

When the talks ended, the presidents signed a treaty on the fundamentals of mutual relations between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Arab Republic of Egypt. A number of other documents were also signed by the members of the delegation, including a trade agreement, agreements on economic, scientific, and technical cooperation, and on the encouragement and mutual protection of investments. A protocol on exchange of information between the Governments of Kazakhstan and Egypt and a protocol on consultations between the ministries of foreign affairs of the two countries were also signed.

Today, Kazakhstan President N. Nazarbayev also met with Ahmad Fathi Surur, chairman of the People's Assembly and M.K. Hilmi, chairman of the Consultative Council of Egypt.

Meets Leaders, Businessmen; Visit Ends

LD1502155893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1517 GMT 15 Feb 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Georgiy Shelenkov]

[Text] Cairo February 15 TASS—President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan has ended the official part of his visit to Egypt today. In the course of his three-day stay in Cairo, the Kazakh president held a series of talks with Egyptian President Husni Mubarak, met with the chairman of the People's Assembly (Parliament) and the prime minister of this country. He also had a meeting with a group of Egyptian business people. The presidents of the two countries signed an agreement on the principles of mutual relations and cooperation between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Arab Republic of Egypt. They also signed a number of inter-government agreements.

At a news conference on Sunday [14 February], President Nursultan Nazarbayev stressed that in the history of the young Kazakh state this was the first visit to the Arab countries. Egypt was chosen for this purpose deliberately taking into consideration the important role it plays in the region.

According to Nursultan Nazarbayev, during his talks with Egyptian President Husni Mubarak, the two discussed international problems, the situation in the Commonwealth of Independent States and the problems of the Middle East settlement. The Kazakh president stressed the full coincidence of both sides' views on the majority of the issues discussed. Kazakhstan and Egypt are for the reduction of nuclear and conventional armaments, the relaxation of tension in the world and the enhancement of the role and effectiveness of the United Nations in the settlement of world conflicts.

As for the Middle East settlement, Kazakhstan, as a U.N. member, is prepared to make its own contribution in this process, comes out in support of the corresponding resolutions of the international community and the guaranteeing of political rights both of the Palestinian and Israeli peoples, the Kazakh president pointed out.

In reply to a question about the prospects for trade and economic cooperation between Kazakhstan and Egypt, Nursultan Nazarbayev singled out such areas as importing Egyptian consumer goods to Kazakhstan and exporting to Egypt of Kazakh raw materials for light industry, grain and meat, and ferrous and non-ferrous metals. Kazakhstan and Egypt may also cooperate in the field of extracting and processing oil and gas. Egyptian experts will work in Alma-Ata providing assistance in the transition of Kazakh economics to a market-oriented economy, Nursultan Nazarbayev said.

Commenting on the fundamentalist trends in the Islamic religion, the Kazakh president expressed a strongly negative attitude towards this phenomenon and any attempts to spread Islamic extremism.

Speaking on his recent visit to Iran, Nursultan Nazarbayev said that it is necessary to build up a dialogue with this country's leadership. The Kazakh president categorically denied that Kazakhstan had allegedly delivered some fissionable materials to Iran.

Tajikistan

Foreign Ministry Protests Afghan Border Violations

LD1602095893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0922 GMT 16 Feb 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe February 16 TASS—The Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Tajikistan has published a protest note, earlier forwarded to the Consulate of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan in the Tajik capital.

It draws the attention of the Afghan Government to numerous violations of the Tajik border. The document notes that such violations and cases of fire being opened upon border patrols have become particularly frequent of late. Concentrations of armed subversion groups are also being observed on the Afghan side. In light of this, the Tajik Foreign Ministry demands urgent measures from the Afghan Government to normalise the situation on the border, to scrupulously observe the border regime in keeping with agreements concluded between the two states.

Russian 201st Army Division To Remain Until 1999

LD1402181593 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1700 GMT 14 Feb 93

[Text] The fate of the 201st Russian Army Division stationed in Tajikistan has been decided. After talks between Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev and the leaders of the republic, agreement has been reached that the division will remain in Tajikistan until 1999, i.e. until it creates its own armed forces. The Russian soldiers will serve at their own choice. Extensive privileges have been stipulated for them as compensation for the hardships and deprivations, but that is for the future, the weekly ARGUMENTY I FAKTY reports. For the time being they spend their days only at the unit's base. However, the officers and ensigns get quite good wages, according to the weekly.

Further on Formation of National Armed Forces

PM1502125593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Feb 93 p 1

[Aleksandr Karpov report: "Tajikistan Forming Armed Forces"]

[Text] Dushanbe—The national armed forces being set up in Tajikistan will have a defensive role and serve to safeguard the country's territorial integrity and protect the state's sovereignty and existing constitutional system.

That is the main principle underlying the republic's military doctrine. This became known after the conclusion of the visit to Dushanbe by a group of experts from the CIS Joint Armed Forces High Command. The phased creation of an army for the independent state has been defined. Among the priority tasks are the formation of ground forces and an air defense system, and then—in the very near future—of other logistics combat arms [rody voysk obespecheniya].

Reports on this subject from the Defense Ministry stress that, in elaborating the plan for the creation of the armed forces, account was taken of the republic's geopolitical position and the typical features of Tajikistan's mountainous terrain, which requires a mobile, maneuverable army equipped with modern combat hardware.

The drafting of conscripts for the national army is currently continuing in the republic.

Uzbekistan

Karimov Rejects Charges of 'Totalitarianism'

PM1202155193 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 Feb 93 p 2

[Interview with President Islam Abduganiyevich Karimov by V. Fronin; place and date not given: "Do Not Destroy the Old Home Before Building a New One"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] "Do not destroy the old home before building a new one first"—Uzbekistan President Islam Adbuganiyevich Karimov adheres to that principle. Today he gives an interview to KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA.

[Fronin] People are increasingly often talking about Uzbekistan as a power with a serious influence on the development of events in nearby and distant foreign parts...

[Karimov] I am sorry, but I do not accept the concept of "distant and nearby foreign parts." It was clearly dreamed up by someone suffering from a nostalgia for the former Union. What does "nearby" mean? What does "distant" mean? If we believe that each state—Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus—is sovereign, that is how all these things should be perceived.

Yes, our borders are transparent, everything depends on mutual relations with neighbors. We are not even contemplating putting up any barriers. But the absence of such barriers is no reason to talk about "nearby foreign parts." This is an oversimplified approach, a stereotype: There used to be a Union with republics in it, now they have become states.

[Fronin] Does that mean that for you Ukraine is not a nearby foreign country and Afghanistan is not a distant foreign country?

[Karimov] No, they are all outside Uzbekistan's borders. But they are friendly countries. The CIS did not emerge through our will, it was created by others. We in Central Asia were left with no alternative but to affiliate to it. Just think if we had created something of our own here at that time, another CIS of a different hue! Nevertheless, I have always remained an adherent of the CIS which I perceive as a civilized form of contact and preservation of ties—and not only economic ties. There are ties which are even more important than economic ones. There are spiritual ties—and these are very important, too.

[Fronin] However, at the recent meeting in Minsk you signed the CIS Charter with a number of reservations. What were they?

[Karimov] There were no reservations. I simply want to reemphasize that some countries (let us call them superpowers) do not want to relinquish the levers of pressure, albeit civilized pressure, on states which are only just emerging. No one is going to make a mass cavalry charge, as happened hundreds of years or even decades ago. But you must agree with me that today's methods of influence can be more aggressive and effective than in the days when people brandished sabers and charged on horseback.

[Fronin] Do you have the economy in mind?

[Karimov] Especially the economy, but also the political situation. There must be no loopholes in any CIS documents, or any possibility of using pressure as means of influencing our domestic life.

[Fronin] You use the words "special path" in relation to Uzbekistan very often, Islam Abduganiyevich. You published the book "Uzbekistan: Its Own Path of Renewal and Progress" ["Uzbekistan: Svoy Put Obnovleniya i Progress"]. Without recounting the whole story, could you tell us briefly about the main principles?

[Karimov] First of all there is the priority of the economy over policy, and in this regard the economy must be de-ideologized. Second, I believe that the state is the main reformer, not some team, not even one consisting of intelligent and talented academics and practitioners. In the transitional period, when one society is disappearing and another is being built in its place, the state must not relinquish the levers of management.

As we say in our country, do not destroy the old home before building the new one first. In any event, none of us has the right to become carried away with destroying something which fed and nourished us. We have suddenly stopped recognizing the old laws but have not produced new ones yet. Even if new laws were to appear they would not begin to operate straight away. Here I am coming to the third point in my program—the law, or rather obeying the law. The law must be paramount. For a long time we were raised in a spirit which taught that laws existed but did not necessarily have to be obeyed. We lack a basic sense of respect for the law. So how are we going to make the transition to a new society? How can we hope to cope with the wave of violence and crime? How will we defend human rights and the dignity of man? Private property without the protection of the law will result in arson attacks on farmhouses. The democratic state will be transformed into a battlefield of perpetual interethnic and social conflicts. So for me the most important thing is respect for the rule of law.

Point four: a strong social policy. In Uzbekistan a family of six or seven can live on the wages of one person. But not in Russia. Incidentally, the Russian population has fallen by 70,000 in the past year. In our country the population has increased by 550,000. The question is, is it possible to pursue the same social policy in the Baltics, Ukraine, and Central Asia?

In my view, you cannot talk of this or that model of transition to the market without taking into account the particular soil and realities of this or that region with all its characteristics, demography, and specific features.

Unless we in our conditions support large families—the old and the sick, for example—everything in our country will come apart, there will be no market or enterprise. When I look at the pages of certain newspapers and see people digging about in refuse pits, when I see a child's trembling hand outstretched begging for charity—at those moments I want to ask what is this revolution for? That is why I, as president, am pursuing a rigorous and very tough line to protect the interests of the needy.

The fifth and last principle. I am convinced that the transition to the market must be gradual. We must move step by step toward the goal without pseudorevolutionary leaps forward. I favor the evolutionary path of development.

Take, for example the raising of prices which, in the language of some specialists, is called liberalization. In monopoly conditions this has almost resulted in the stoppage of life itself. Without creating conditions for healthy competition based on the consumer's interests, what has happened is simply the raising of prices by the state. Production is declining. Arkadiy Volskiy, in my view, accurately called this the domino effect. Raising prices, in the first place, if it is not limited and there is no competition, leads to a fall in production. The level of the population's income falls, people cannot afford to buy anything and what you get, strange though it may seem when production is falling, is a glut. This is the domino effect.

Of course, Uzbekistan cannot switch to the market in isolation. It was and remains part of an invisible complex once called the national economic complex. Whether we like it or not, all the former republics of the USSR, now sovereign states, are dependent on one another. This dependence can turn out for the best if the independent policy of each state is treated with understanding and respect and without any pressure.

[Fronin] Recently you went to Switzerland, the capital of the banking world. Is Uzbekistan going to introduce its own currency?

[Karimov] The printing press is in Russia's hands and you know the kind of inflation that is being fueled there. That is why certain contradictions are emerging between us. The printing press must be above states if we belong to a single ruble zone. To print rubles for everyone in the light of everyone's interests. I will tell you honestly that we have misgivings: What would happen tomorrow if Russia decided to replace the ruble? What position will we be left in?

Until Russia introduces its own national currency, Uzbekistan will not do that either. Not so long as we are in a single ruble zone...

[Fronin] How do you regard the idea of creating a Eurasian Union without Russia's participation?

[Karimov] That is a complete utopia, believe me. The creation of a Eurasian Union must be based first of all on a community of interests. But to simply assemble states that are polar opposites—you know, this is designed for populism. It will not go further than an initiative.

[Fronin] Uzbekistan was the first of the former Union republics to introduce a presidency. You are the only president in Central Asia elected on an alternative basis. Nevertheless, your opponents criticize you and accuse you of totalitarianism. The opposition believes that it is operating virtually underground.

[Karimov] We have reached the question which you, obviously, should have asked at the very beginning of our conversation. I have the interest of a certain category of Moscow journalists in mind. I just wanted this conversation to be direct.

What does the term "dictatorial ways" or methods mean? And what is the meaning of "totalitarian system" or the underground? All this must be backed up by evidence. And when someone wants to see opposition in this or that state he finds it.

How far are we, our society, ready for opposition in the full sense of the word? I understand and accept constructive opposition in a democratic and stable state. I acknowledge opponents who have their own platform and their own perception of society's future—from the viewpoint of progress. But how can these people consider themselves a serious opposition in the conditions that pertain to the difficult first steps toward the market, democracy, in an electrified and tense atmosphere—they can consider themselves an opposition only because this group of people deny everything and form their policy solely on a negative perception of everything that the authorities are doing today. The most important thing that I want to ask you and everyone else who is consciously fueling the atmosphere of nervousness in Uzbekistan: Can you say—what is the specific platform or program of that "aggrieved opposition" which is being oppressed so much in our country?

Recently a short book was published, you mentioned its name—"Uzbekistan: Its Own Path of Renewal and Progress." The very name of this publication is self-explanatory but its significance lies elsewhere: I advise all my opponents to study it. To prevent further superfluous talk that the president acts on impulse under the influence of emotions and moods. And that Karimov has no program. Tell me, which of my opponents has spoken against this book? For some reason no one is trying to criticize or take issue with it. This is because these critics have nothing to offer but overweening pride. I do not mean to say that everything that has been written is the absolute truth...

[Fronin] So a stated policy may diverge from, or not quite tally with life?

[Karimov] Then the question is this: Where precisely? Which actions broke the law? My principle, I repeat, is to respect the law, to obey the law. Let them tell us: Where are our laws wrong or do not correspond to democratic international norms? When Mr. Baker was in Tashkent he spent a long time trying to convince me: "Well, overlook the facts and register the 'Birlik' movement as a party." I said: "We have a law—for registration this new party needs at least 3,000 members." When I was seeing Baker off at the airport, "Birlik" activists thrust some rough drafts into his hand. Look, I said: They have 1,500 people. Once more Baker said: "Well, ok, but can't you overlook that fact?" I replied: "How can I? I cannot interfere in your internal affairs. You are secretary of state there, Mr. Bush is President. Can he order the Department of Justice to register a party in circumvention of the law?"

And what would you say if "Birlik" distributed leaflets saying "Down with the Russians!"? But when I tried to hold a roundtable meeting with the movement's activists they declared: The Russians must go.

Did Tajikistan not open journalists' eyes? Thousands, tens of thousands of people died in such a short space of time. A terrible figure. Barbarity and savagery. Who incited all this—religious fundamentalists hiding behind democratic parties which simply have no social base in Tajikistan. Shodmon Yusupov, chairman of the Democratic Party, called the Russians Tajikistan's hostages. It is simply beyond my comprehension when Yusupov is nominated Tajikistan's ambassador to Russia.

As for Abdumanop Pulatov, about whom so much has been written lately, the court has sentenced him to three years. But he was released under the president's amnesty edict. As far as I am aware he is at home and in good health.

My opponents would very much like to present Karimov as a dictator. I admit that possibly there are signs of authoritarianism in my actions. But I put that down to one thing: At certain periods in history, in the formation of one's own statehood, especially in the period of transition from one system to another, a strong executive power is necessary. It is necessary to prevent bloodshed and confrontation and preserve interethnic and civic calm, peace, and stability in a region, for which I am prepared to pay any price, however high. If you like, this is necessary for movement toward democracy.

Armenia

Bagratyan Named Premier; New Spokesman Appointed

NC1202180193 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1700 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Text] The president of the Armenian Republic signed a decree on 12 February 1993 appointing Grant Araratovich Bagratyan as prime minister—head of the government—of the Armenian Republic.

With another decree on 12 February, the Armenian president relieved Ruben Robertovich Shugaryan of his post as the republic's press secretary and appointed him Armenia's extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador to the United States.

With another decree on 12 February, the president appointed Aram [middle name indistinct] Abrahamyan as the Republic's press secretary.

New Premier Profiled

LD1202193593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1730 GMT 12 Feb 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 12 Feb— Thirty-five year-old Grant Bagratyan has become Armenia's new prime minister (government chairman). He worked as deputy prime minister and minister of the economy of the republic, and from 2 February as acting head of Armenia's government. A decree appointing him was signed this evening by Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan.

Grant Bagratyan was born in Yerevan in 1958 to a worker's famliy. He has received higher education; he graduated with distinction from the Yerevan Institute of the National Economy (in 1979) and completed postgraduate studies at the Institute of Economics of Armenia's Academy of Sciences (in 1987). He is a candidate of economic sciences.

After graduation he served two years in the Soviet Army. In the 1981-82 period he worked within the system of Armenia's Gossnab (State Supply), after which he did postgraduate studies for five years. In the 1987-90 period he was a scientific staff member and a senior scientific staff member of the Institute of Economics of Armenia's Academy of Sciences.

After the Armenian Pan-National Movement came to power he became first deputy chairman of Armenia's Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Committee for the Economy. In September to November 1991 he was acting head of Armenia's government; in November 1991 he was appointed deputy prime minister and minister of the economy. He is a member of the board of the Armenian Pan-National Movement. He is one of the initiators and a convinced supporter of radical economic reforms in the republic and the author of a monograph and 30 scientific articles on economic problems.

Prime Minister Accuses Georgia of Not Providing Fuel

NC1202191193 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Text] Speaking at the extraordinary government meeting yesterday, acting Prime Minister Grant Bagratyan said Georgia is not fulfilling its obligations. Bagratyan said that the second bombing within a month of the Armenia-bound pipeline that crosses Georgia confirms that Georgian authorities are not taking the necessary measures to protect the pipeline. Furthermore, Bagratyan added, the Georgian side rejected our proposal to guard the pipeline with the help of Armenian law enforcement personnel.

Bagratyan also informed the government that Georgia is to blame for the fact that hundreds of fuel tanks bound for Armenia have been abandoned at the railway station in Batumi Port.

Following the visit to Baku by a large Georgian delegation headed by Eduard Shevardnadze and the signing of the Georgian-Azerbaijani friendship, cooperation, and mutual security agreement, Georgian Foreign Minister Aleksandr Chikvaidze asserted during a news conference that his country intends to maintain (?equal) relations with Azerbaijan and Armenia. As proof of this intention, he noted that a similar delegation with a similar package of agreements is getting ready to go to Armenia.

Assurances mean nothing if they are not confirmed with actions. Unfortunately, the developments make us doubt Georgia's sincerity.

Cabinet Discusses Pipeline Explosion, Border Security

NC1302092293 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Text] An expanded session of the Armenian Council of Ministers Presidium was convened on 11 February. In opening the meeting, acting Premier Grant Bagratyan informed the Presidium on the latest explosion on the Armenia-bound pipeline in Georgia's Marneulskiy Rayon and on the results of the examination of the situation during the extraordinary session of the Republican Staff for Operational Administration.

The Presidium also examined the situation on the Armenian-Turkish border. The meeting heard reports from the governmental department on administrative districts and from the supervisory service attached to the president. The reports said that protection of the state borders is neglected. Due to laxity and irresponsibility on the part of the border guards, local authorities, and law enforcement organs smuggling is on the rise. Instructions were issued to fortify border control and prevent smuggling.

National Security Council Urges 'Prudence' by Citizens

NC1202181593 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Text] The Armenian National Security Council met on 11 February, chaired by President Levon Ter-Petrosyan. Acting Premier Grant Bagratyan delivered a report. It was noted at the meeting that certain foreign and domestic forces are trying to destabilize the situation in Armenia.

After a comprehensive discussion, the participants formulated a program for future action, and the heads of the relevant ministries and departments were issued instructions.

The National Security Council expresses the hope that the people of Armenia will display the necessary prudence and wisdom under the existing conditions.

'Violent' Clashes Reported in Nagorno-Karabakh

NC1202183193 Yerevan Radio Yerevan in Azeri 1430 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Excerpts] Dear listeners, we now present a report on the latest incidents in the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] and the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

We reported earlier that Azerbaijan's military command is engaged in preparations to deploy many units and military vehicles in the occupied areas in Nagorno-Karabakh and the Azerbaijani rayons bordering the NKR. We also reported that a wide-scale Azerbaijani attack was imminent.

Azerbaijan's usurping army deployed new units in the fighting to retake the positions it lost during the past two days. The situation in Mardakertskiy Rayon is extremely tense. There have been violent clashes in that rayon, but Azerbaijan's effort to score a victory on that part of the battlefront has failed. The Armenian self-defense forces have rebuffed the attacks and forced the enemy to retreat after suffering many casualties.

Azerbaijan's military units have intensively fired on the Armenian self-defense positions with large-caliber arms during the past two days. They also have launched attacks using artillery, tanks, and armored vehicles. But the usurpers failed to establish superiority in the clashes which took place in the vicinity of Vaguaz and Kochohot on 11 February. Dozens of Azerbaijani officers and troops were killed in the fighting. Three Armenians were killed and several others were wounded.

The Azerbaijani Army suffered yet another defeat in the clashes which took place near (Otaglar) yesterday afternoon. The enemy was forced to retreat after leaving more than 40 bodies on the battlefield.

Five Armenian fighters were killed when Mekhmana was shelled by artillery. The self-defense command headquarters in Mardakertskiy Rayon has disclosed that the NKR self-defense forces destroyed 15 enemy military vehicles during the five-day clashes on that part of the battlefront. They captured tanks, armored vehicles, and a large quantity of military equipment, including machine guns, automatic firearms, and ammunition. Vaguaz in Mardakertskiy Rayon is in the neutral zone at present. The NKR self-defense forces, however, maintain control of the heights overlooking that town.

The situation in other areas along the battlefront is also unstable. Positional fighting is taking place in the other regions. Vartashen in Martuninskiy Rayon was fired on from positions in Azerbaijan's Agdamskiy and Fizulinskiy Rayons. A 12-year-old child was killed in the attack. The Azerbaijani units fired 50 rounds on Charpaz in the same rayon. There were no significant incidents on the other parts of the battlefront.

The situation in the vicinity of the Lachin humanitarian corridor has been relatively peaceful. The Goris-Lachin-Stepanakert road is open to traffic. [passage omitted]

Let us now report on the situation on the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan. Tension has escalated in that region once again, but the situation currently is peaceful. The tension is felt primarily in Armenia's Gorisskiy, Noyemberyanskiy, Krasnoselskiy, and Tavushskiy Rayons. Voskepar in Noyemberyanskiy Rayon was fired on from Azerbaijan with tanks and [word indistinct] at 0200 on 11 February. There were no casualties, but several buildings were damaged.

The Armenian Defense Ministry Press Service has disclosed that [placename indistinct] and Kambarat in Krasnoselskiy Rayon were fired on from Azerbaijan's Kedabekskiy Rayon on the same day. Nerkin-Karmiragyur, [placename indistinct], and Aygepar in Tavushskiy Rayon were fired on from Azerbaijan's Tauzskiy Rayon with various types of arms. There were no casualties.

The situation in the other Armenian rayons has been relatively peaceful. It is difficult to say, however, how long the peace will last. The Armenian self-defense forces have not retaliated against all the Azerbaijani provocations. That indicates that Armenia wants peace and security in the region.

State of Emergency Canceled in Turkish Border Region

LD1602100493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0939 GMT 16 Feb 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan February 16 TASS—Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan cancelled on Tuesday the state of emergency introduced on February 8 in the Armavir region bordering on Turkey in order to "cut short illegal activities of armed groups" there and to avert dangerous incidents threatening the national security of Armenia.

Massive smuggling of cattle, drugs and jewellery across the Turkish border was another reason.

The emergency was cancelled after law enforcement agencies took control over the situation in the region, according to a presidential decree.

The Armenian Government discussed the situation on the border with Turkey and noted "connivance and irresponsibility" of frontier troops, local authorities and law enforcement agencies and poor border protection which resulted in a wave of smugglings, according to the press centre of the government.

Gas Supplies Resume Through Damaged Pipelines

OW1502150393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1434 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Gas was pumped to Armenia at approximately 6:00 in the morning of 15 February through the pipeline which was blown up on Georgian territory on Thursday [11 February] and has just been repaired. The information was provided to an INTERFAX correspondent in Tbilisi by a dispatcher at the Gruzgaz department. The volume of deliveries, he said, would be roughly 4 Mn [million] cubic meters per day.

Armenian Parliament Speaker Babken Ararktsyan said at Monday's [15 February] session that the gas would apparently reach Armenia on the evening of the same day.

The gas pipeline, which runs through Georgia, is the only real existing one which can provide Armenia with gas. The other gas pipeline, which runs across the Kazakh region of Azerbaijan, has been blocked for more than a year.

Reopening Nuclear Power Station Poses Hazards

PM1102162593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Feb 93 First Edition p 7

[Karen Topchyan report: "Time Bomb"]

[Text] Yerevan—As already reported, because of the catastrophic power shortage in Armenia the question has been raised of opening the Metsamorskaya nuclear electric power station, which was closed down in February 1989 immediately after the Spitak earthquake.

The question of the safety of the future operation of the nuclear electric power station, which worries Armenians and their neighbors, is being forced into the background by the problem of a disaster... even before the relaunch. Even now, at a time of enforced inactivity, the nuclear electric power station has quite a considerable quantity of uranium fuel and radioactive waste products which need to be kept permanently cooled and ventilated. However, that is impossible now because of the nuclear electric power station's total lack of electricity supply sources. This factor, according to the specialists, could have far-reaching consequences.

In this situation the Armenian Government recently sent a message to its CIS counterparts as well as to the neighboring states of Azerbaijan, Turkey, Iran, and Georgia, in which it said in particular: "The lack of monitoring of hazardous radioactive systems could cause a disaster on a regional scale which would affect the interests of Armenia itself and its neighbors..."

The country's government, the document notes, "is taking measures to avert an accident but its energy and other resources are extremely limited. Therefore we consider it our duty to inform the governments of the aforementioned states about the situation, which is fraught with radiation consequences."

The situation is further aggravated by the fact that this "ecological bomb for the whole Transcaucasus-Near East region," as specialists have already dubbed the Armenian nuclear electric power station, will probably be demothballed in the near future. According to Ruben Shugaryan, press secretary to the president of Armenia, it is not ruled out that Levon Ter-Petrosyan will raise the question of opening the power station at the next session of parliament. Shugaryan also noted that the nuclear electric power station could be relaunched within six months rather than two years, as the republic's specialists believe. The feasibility of opening the station in such a short time is based on the conclusions of very authoritative specialists.

In the opinion of observers in Yerevan, the Supreme Soviet will make a decision on resuming the operation of the nuclear electric power station. This is increasingly urgently demanded by the public in the country who for quite understandable reasons are not confident that the fuel and energy problems can be even partially resolved by next winter. Meanwhile, as people in Armenia joke rather gloomily, first you have to survive until next winter.

Azerbaijan

Defense Minister 'Disproves' APF Coup Statement

NC1202134393 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 1109 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Text] Baku, 12.02.93 (ASSA-IRADA)—Rakhim Gaziyev, minister of defence of Azerbaijan, disproves the statement of Azerbaijanian People's Front (APF) about preparation for coup d'etat. He also disproves the fact of withdrawing the part of military units and technical equipment from northern line of front—from Agdere [Mardakertskiy] district. Then in the statement published today the minister of defence accuses today's republican leadership of the fact that it hasn't justified hopes of people. When APF came to power, Azerbaijanian people expected that the war in Karabakh would at last become the main affair for the state. Political forces in power instead of uniting people and in that way withdrawing the country out of deep crisis, unfortunately try to create artificial opposition within a small nation, intensify stratification of the society and persecution of people for their views. And because of the full inactivity of men, determining the foreign policy of the state, Armenia, which is treated on international scale as "long-suffering," receives much help, under the pretence of which it receives much weapons, equipment and owing to this, it steadily conducts its hypocritical policy. Taking into consideration all this, the country involved in war, must take drastic measures, about which the leadership of the ministry told at various levels. The power didn't respond this brought to mass desertion, systematical derangement of mobilization, lawlessness, corruption. [as received] We are not able to establish common command over all military forces, as is dictated by war-time and that's why misfortune often befalls us. And if the faith in military forces and their leadership shaken during the war, it may end with catastrophe, the statement says.

Officials Comment on Reported Coup Attempt

NC1202165293 Baku TURAN in Azeri 0855 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Text] Baku, 12 Feb (TURAN)—State Secretary Panakh Guseynov held a news conference, during which he assessed developments in the republic.

According to Panakh Guseynov, the recent aggravation of the situation in the republic is linked with setbacks encountered on the battlefront.

Following the defeat suffered by the Azerbaijani Army, the Azerbaijan People's Front [APF] has leveled accusations at General Suret Guseynov, commander of the Azerbaijani Army Corps [not further specified] and the president's plenipotentiary representative in Karabakh. The APF Executive Committee's statement says that Suret Guseynov intentionally withdrew the Army and military hardware from northern Karabakh at the beginning of February, following which Armenian units occupied a number of Azerbaijani cities. In the opinion of APF leaders, this was done to aggravate the political situation in the Republic and to stage a coup d'etat.

In a telephone conversation with a TURAN correspondent, Suret Guseynov refuted these accusations and said they in no way reflect the truth.

Defense Minister Rakhim Gaziyev has been dissatisfied with the calumnies leveled against his subordinate. In a statement issued today, the defense minister said: "The reckless statements about a coup d'etat only help to aggravate the situation on the battlefront and to disrupt the Republic's political stability." The defense minister also noted that the withdrawal of Army units and military hardware from the front was carried out not on Suret Guseynov's orders, but at the instruction of the Republic's commander-in-chief.

Despite this, President Elchibey, who visited Gyandzha 7-8 February, issued a decree abolishing the office of the president's plenipotentiary representative in Karabakh. Although this measure limits Suret Guseynov's authority, the latter remains commander of the Azerbaijani Army Corps. According to reports from Gyandzha, 200 pro-Guseynov Army personnel who have settled in the city and are under Suret Guseynov's command staged a rally on 11 February.

According to the presidential press service, it now is peaceful in Gyandzha and there were no incidents yesterday or today. Nevertheless, additional security measures are being taken in Baku. The Television and Radio Company, the airport, railway stations, the post office, and other important facilities are under heavy police protection.

State Minister Panakh Guseynov has refuted claims that the Presidential Guard has been withdrawn from the battlefront. He also noted that he has no information about a coup. He added: "Whoever attempts a coup d'etat will be crushed."

The National Independence Party, which is considered the most influential party in the Republic; the Musavat Party; and the supporters of Nakhichevan Supreme Soviet Chairman Geydar Aliyev called on the people to act with maturity and to rally around the president.

People's Front Demands Changes in Defense Ministry

NC1202155693 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 1316 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Text] Baku, 12 Feb (ASSA-IRADA)—[The Azerbaijani People's Front—APF] Executive Committee raises a question on expulsion of Mr. Arif Gadzhiyev from APF's ranks, Mr. Farazh Kuliyev, newly elected chairman of APF stated at the press conference. The reason is Mr. Arif Gadzhiyev statement on Azerbaijan TV, in which he told about his disagreement with Executive Committee's confirmation.

Mr. Arif Gadzhiyev blamed Mr. Suret Guseynov, representative plenipotentiary of Azerbaijan president to Karabakh and corps commander, of treachery. Then Mr. Farazh Kuliyev told that if the leadership of the Defence Ministry is not changed in the nearest future, the APF's Executive Committee will take drastic measures and these measures will concern even President Elchibey.

There are a lot of members of APF who injure its prestige. And we are going to conduct combing-out in APF's ranks, Mr. Kuliyev emphasized. If it is necessary we'll close down the district branches of APF.

Armenians Reportedly Retreat in Northern Karabakh

NC1402182093 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 14 Feb 93

[Text] The Azerbaijan Defense Ministry Analytical Information Center's communique reads:

The situation in northern Karabakh continues to be tense. Fierce fighting took place around Buzluk and Vaguaz last night. The enemy tried to advance toward Sarsang Reservoir. Thanks to our military units, however, we have retained the areas under our control and the enemy has been forced to retreat.

The Armenian Armed Forces also tried to attack our positions in Khodzhavendskiy Rayon from Kurapatkino and Moganly at about 0000 last night. They were forced to retreat after suffering many casualties in the fighting, which continued for nearly one hour. Exchanges of fire with automatic firearms continued throughout the night in that area. Meanwhile, exchanges of artillery fire have taken place on the other parts of the battlefront.

Fizulinskiy and Agdamskiy Rayons were fired on last night from the Armenian positions in Karabakh. Mormor in Kedabekskiy Rayon and Alibeyli in Tauzskiy Rayon were fired on from Armenia.

The situation on the other parts of the front line was relatively peaceful during the night.

Minister Criticized for Surrendering NKAO Settlements

LD1202154393 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1200 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Text] The military defeats suffered recently by Azerbaijan in the course of the military actions with Armenia over Nagorno-Karabakh have destabilized the political situation in this republic. The People's Front of Azerbaijan, an influential public organization, has strongly criticized the actions of Defense Minister Rakhim Gaziyev after Azerbaijani troops surrendered seven settlements in Nagorno-Karabakh. The defense minister tried to appear on national television with an explanation of the situation but armed detachments of the People's Front surrounded the television center building in Baku and prevented him from entering it.

Russian Army Accused of Participating in Armenian Offensive

LD1302155893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1536 GMT 13 Feb 93

[By AZERTAC correspondents Natig Abdullayev, Gekchekkhanum Tagiyeva—TASS]

[Text] Baku February 13 TASS—The Azeri Defence Ministry claims, referring to reliable sources, the 128th Motorized Infantry Regiment of the Seventh Russian Army, stationed on Armenian territory, participated in the Armenian offensive on February 5-6 in the Agderinskiy direction.

Sources at the republican Defence Ministry's information-analytical center told AZERTAC the regiment and Cossack units also take part in the new offensive of the Armenian expeditionary corps today in the Agderinskiy direction.

As result of the sharply deteriorated situation in Karabakh north, a real threat of capture of several populated localities of the former Agderinskiy region has created. Fierce fighting is reported from the area.

Karabakh Denies Russian Participation

LD1602125793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1222 GMT 16 Feb 93

[By ARMEPRESS-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Yerevan February 16 TASS—The Nagorno-Karabakh leadership has bluntly denied the claim of the Azeri Defence Ministry's press centre that Russian military units and Cossacks were taking part on the Armenian side in the fighting in Mardekert district. Stepanakert experts believe the Azeri military leaders are trying to justify in this way the "panic flight of their numerically and technically superior forces in northern Karabakh."

Heavy fighting continued in the direction of the villages of Chapar and Zardakhakh last night. Several Azeri tanks and an armoured carrier were hit. The Armenian village of Idillu, Gadrut district, was shelled.

Nakhichevan's Aliyev Urges People To Unite Around Elchibey

NC1202194793 Baku AZERTAC in Azeri 1359 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Text] Nakhichevan, 12 Feb (AZERTAC)—Geydar Aliyev, chairman of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic Supreme Soviet, indicated that he is uneasy about the present military and political situation in Azerbaijan. In a conversation with an AZERTAC correspondent, Aliyev said: Our defeat on the battlefront and the domestic instability in Azerbaijan in general make me very uneasy.

Aliyev noted that at this crucial stage, the people must rise up in defense of the country and unite around President Abulfaz Elchibey. In Aliyev's opinion, the republic's main duty is to secure the unity of the Azerbaijani people and ensure domestic political stability.

President Elchibey Receives Nakhichevan Speaker Aliyev

LD1402035093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0200 GMT 14 Feb 93

[Text] Azerbaijan President Elchibey has held a meeting in Baku with Geydar Aliyev, chairman of the Nakhichevan Majles. Azer Khalilov has the details:

[Khalilov] Geydar Aliyev pointed out during his meeting with Abulfaz Elchibey that his visit is a private one and that it is mainly devoted to the problems in Nakhichevan. He also said that the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic has now been in the grip of a fierce blockade for approximately nine months. He said that the population of the autonomous republic is experiencing an acute shortage of foodstuffs, fuel, and electric power.

Elchibey noted that the Azerbaijan Government will do all it can to free the autonomous republic from the blockade. He reported that the government of the United States of America will render humanitarian aid to Nakhichevan in the near future. Aliyev asked Elchibey for this humanitarian aid to be sent directly to Nakhichevan. The Azerbaijan president's press service reports that Aliyev and Elchibey also discussed recent issues, notably the worsening situation in upper Karabakh and on the border with Armenia.

Aliyev Comments on Meeting

NC1502194493 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Text] The founders of the New Azerbaijan Party have held a meeting with Geydar Aliyev, party leader and head of the Nakhichevan Supreme Assembly, at party headquarters in Baku. Aliyev said that he arrived in Baku for personal reasons. He briefed the meeting participants in depth on the situation in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic [NAR].

Regarding his meeting with President Elchibey, Aliyev said that they met for nearly eight hours. The main subject of his talks with Elchibey was the question of safeguarding and enhancing Azerbaijan's independence. The social and economic problems and the sociopolitical situation in the NAR also were discussed. Aliyev said that the New Azerbaijan Party must actively participate in the measures that will be put into effect during the current year, which has been declared as the year for state construction. He called on the party members to struggle to safeguard Azerbaijan's territorial integrity.

Elchibey Evaluates Talks

OW1502182893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1730 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Report prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature—item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Abulfaz Elchibey qualified the consultations of the head of state with the chairman of the Supreme Majles (parliament) of the Nakhichevan republic (an autonomy within Azerbaijan), Geydar Aliyev, which were held at the end of last week in Baku, as "extremely useful." According to Elchibey, "a joint discussion of burning issues with prominent public-political functionaries of Azerbaijan will assist in their effective solution." Observers note that at their first meeting, the parties examined not only the critical situation in the autonomous republic (which is experiencing serious difficulties due to an energy blockade by neighboring Armenia) but global issues of Azerbaijan's domestic and foreign policy.

Local experts believe that the tune of the dialogue between Elchibey and Aliyev testifies that certain tensions have been surmounted, which, as several local observers pointed out, were earlier present in relations between the President and former communist leader of the republic (Aliyev was the first secretary during Brezhnev's ruling). In particular, last autumn when meetings of Aliyev's opponents and supporters of the Popular Front of Azerbaijan were conducted in Nakhichevan, the head of the Nakhichevan parliament reproached Elchibey, who was the chairman of the Popular Front of Azerbaijan, with the fact that he had intervened in this situation.

At present, as Aliyev said, the autonomy's industry and agriculture are in a critical state and the Nakhichevan republic is experiencing a shortage of food stuffs and other consumer goods.

President Holds Talks With Jordanian Delegation

JN1302154193 Amman Radio Jordan Network in Arabic 1200 GMT 13 Feb 93

[Excerpt] Prince Ra'd Bin-Zayd, chief chamberlain and head of the Jordanian delegation visiting the independent Islamic states, today delivered a message from His Majesty King Husayn to the Azerbaijani president. The Jordanian and Azerbaijani sides will sign an agreement to establish diplomatic relations between the two countries, as well as minutes covering various areas of cooperation. Details are in our correspondent's report:

[Begin correspondent's recording] The Jordanian delegation was welcomed in the Azerbaijani capital, Baku, with a warm reception expressing the love of the Azerbaijani Government and people for Jordan. This was also made clear during the Jordanian delegation's meeting with Azerbaijani President Abulfaz Elchibey, who received His Majesty King Husayn's message from Chief Chaimberlain Prince Ra'd Bin-Zayd. The delegation conveyed his majesty's invitation to the Azerbaijani president to visit Jordan.

His excellency the president accepted the invitation with pleasure and asked the delegation to convey his greetings to His Majesty King Husayn, as well as his invitation to his majesty to visit Azerbaijan. The Azerbaijani president praised Jordan's policies under His Majesty King Husayn and voiced his love and appreciation for his majesty. He added that Azerbaijani officials will exert every effort to make the talks between the two sides successful.

The meeting lasted more than one hour during which his excellency the president held talks with the Jordanian delegation on how to promote bilateral relations. The Azerbaijani president also touched on the situation of the Islamic world and said that Azerbaijan focuses on issues of interest to the Islamic world and ways of unifying their ranks and positions.

The delegation met with Azerbaijani Prime Minister Ali Guseynov and reviewed with him the proposed cooperation between the two countries in the areas of economy, trade, education, science, religion, higher education, universities, and exchanging expertise. The representatives of the private sector, the president of the Amman Chamber of Industry, and the head of the Amman Chamber of Commerce attended the meeting. They proposed to form a joint Jordanian-Azerbaijani council for economy, in which public and private sectors will participate and which will hold an annual meeting in each country. The meeting will be accompanied by an exhibition for the products of the host country. The delegation reviewed the distinguished Jordanian economy and the effective economic policies Jordan is adopting.

The Jordanian and Azerbaijani sides held a meeting at the Azerbaijani Foreign Ministry. The Jordanian delegation was headed by 'Ali al-Suhaymant, deputy prime minister and minister of transport; and the Azerbaijani side was headed by Azerbaijani Foreign Minister Tofik Gaseymov. The talks centered on bilateral relations and ways of promoting them. The Azerbaijani side affirmed to the Jordanian delegation that the Azerbaijani position is identical to that of Jordan and the Arabs regarding the Palestine question, the Palestinian people's right to self-determination on their national soil, and the full implementation of Resolutions 242 and 338. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Relations Established

NC1402134193 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 1130 GMT 14 Feb 93

[Text] Baku 14.02.93 (ASSA-IRADA)—The visit of Jordan delegation to Azerbaijan has come to an end. "We know that you encounter a lot of difficulties on the way to flourishing but we are sure you will overcome them," said the first Deputy Prime Minister of Jordan Kingdom 'Ali al-Suhaymat at the press conference. During the visit we signed a protocol on establishment of diplomatic relations between Azerbaijan Republic and Jordan Kingdom and joint memorandum on cultural, trade, and economic relations. The First Vice-Premier of Azerbaijan Vahid Akhmedov reported on forthcoming visit to Jordan. The negotiations were held on creation of joint committee for studying the possibilities of development of relations on culture, science, economics, education and other fields. The agreement was already reached on opening the air service between Amman and Baku. The Azerbaijan foreign minister said that the functions of the Azerbaijan Embassy in Jordan Kingdom will be executed by embassy opened in Saudi Arabia. The delegation left Baku today.

Nakhichevan's Aliyev Heads New Political Party

LD1502122993 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 15 Feb 93

[From the "Vesti" nescast]

[Text] The constituent congress of the New Azerbaijan party opened in Baku today. The moving force behind it is Geydar Aliyev, former CPSU Central Committee member and currently chairman of the Supreme Council of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Region. He is 70 years old. The party's draft policy statement envisages the creation of an independent, democratic, and Soviet Azerbaijan.

Head of New Intelligentsia Party Scores Nationalism

PM1502103193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Feb 93 First Edition p 7

[Arif Useynov report: "Internationalists and Nationalists"]

[Text] Baku—Nizami Suleymanov, leader of the Union of the Intelligentsia of Azerbaijan, who unilaterally declared a moratorium on political activity last fall, has become head of a new party—"Independent Azerbaijan." The party intends to base its activity on the principles of internationalism.

During the period of the president elections Suleymanov proved such an attractive political figure that his popularity rating was second only to Abulfaz Elchibey. Suleymanov still claims that the results of the presidential elections were falisifed and is confident that the majority voted for him and his ideas. The ideas of the man who failed to become president are indeed extraordinary: He promises to end the Karabakh war in a matter of a few weeks, feed the people, and create the preconditions for entrepreneurial activity.

What is "Independent Azerbaijan" offering? Nationalism in its present form, Nizami Suleymanov believes, is driving away from us peoples who have lived with us for thousands of years. The Pan-Turkism which has been offered to us is demoralizing the nation. There is now a danger of complete collapse in all spheres of vital activity and the loss of statehood. "Independent Azerbaijan" advocates a coalition government, the reduction of taxes and food prices, and tougher measures against bribery.

'Social Justice Party' Holds Founding Conference

NC1502201093 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Text] The founding conference of the new Social Justice Party [Sosyal Adalet Partiyasi] has been held. Representatives from Baku and several rayons participated. An organizational committee was established to prepare for the new party's founding congress. An administrative council also was established. The conference adopted a communique on the party's tasks.

Georgia

Abkhazians, Government Allege, Deny Impending Attack

Ardzinba Criticizes Government Campaign

LD1302214293 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 13 Feb 93

[Interview with V. Ardzinba, chairman of the Abkhazian Supreme Soviet, by correspondent Bzhaniya; place and date not given; from the "Vesti" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Bzhaniya] Quoting a statement by Eduard Shevardnadze, the mass media keeps affirming that the Abkhazian side is preparing to attack the town of Sukhumi.

[Ardzinba] One should understand why the Georgian leadership is now raising yet another hysterical campaign alleging that we may attack Sukhumi. The main aim here is to divert public opinion from what is happening in Georgia itself. There is a very good plan: to provoke, as it were, a clash between Abkhazians and Mengrels, so that we exterminate one another. Afterward certain people will be able to resettle in the regions which would be then available.

We must find ways to address our compatriots, make them see the right way. This is because nobody purports to exterminate our compatriots.

Ardzinba Believes Settlement 'Possible'

OW1402143193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1323 GMT 14 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of the Abkhazian parliament, Vladislav Ardzinba, said that peaceful settlement of the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict was "vitally important and possible."

He noted, however, that the Georgian leaders must realize that military aggression is senseless and withdraw the Georgian troops from Abkhazia. "Only in this case will the political talks bring the expected results," said Ardzinba.

During an interview with INTERFAX and Abkhazian TV, he accused the Georgian leaders once again of unleashing the bloody war in Abkhazia. He also noted that the Georgian leadership is using the Abkhazian factor for uniting the Georgian people.

"This is the only way one can qualify Eduard Shevardnadze's latest statement on the need to defend Sukhumi 'to the last drop of blood,'" said the Abkhazian leader. He noted, however, that over the past six months, the Abkhazian armed forces have learned not only to defend themselves, but also to attack.

Commenting on the fact that Georgia asked the UN to send peace-keeping forces to Abkhazia, Ardzinba said that such a measure may be taken only by agreement with all of the conflicting parties.

"No one has talked with us about this. Neither has Abkhazia given its agreement to such a measure," he added.

Government's Troops Arrive

LD1402163693 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1300 GMT 14 Feb 93

[Text] The Iprinda agency reports that due to the aggravating situation at the Gumista River, a 700-strong special purpose subunit of the Georgian National Guards has arrived in Abkhazia. According to the headquarters of the Georgian National Guards, an exchange of residents took place on 13 February in the area of Sukhumi: 130 Georgians moved from Gudauta to Sukhumi, and 200 Abkhazians living in Sukhumi moved to the territory controlled by Abkhazia.

Abkhazia's Ardzinba Requests UN Security Council Hearing

PM1602134593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Feb 93 p 1

[Undated "Open Letter to Mr. Prof. Butrus-Ghali, secretary general of the UN Organization," signed by V. Ardzinba, chairman of the Republic of Abkhazia Supreme Soviet: "We Ask To Be Allowed To Address the United Nations!"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Today we publish letters addressed to the Russian and world communities and to mankind's vigilant conscience. We believe that they will help, finally, to separate the wheat from the chaff and highlight the truth—wherever on the field of battle there is aggressive, ill-intentioned interest and wherever there is the people's liberation impulse.

Your Excellency,

Circumstances compel me to address you through the mass media, and this is why:

The sixth month of the war in Abkhazia is coming to an end. The number of killed and wounded already runs into thousands.

From the very first days of the war I have repeatedly appealed to you, Mr. Secretary General, and to the UN Security Council, requesting that humanitarian aid be given to Abkhazia's multiethnic population, whose rights have been violated on a massive scale.

Not one of our appeals has been answered.

At the same time the Georgian State Council's appeals have been immediately considered and the United Nations has sent "fact-finding" commissions in response to them. But the fact-finding consisted of trips to Tbilisi, conversations with the Georgian leadership, the obtaining of materials from them, and then brief visits to the city of Gudauta.

All these commissions' conclusions basically boiled down to the need to observe the principle of the inviolability of Georgian territory.

We treat this and other fundamental principles of contemporary international law with respect. But in our appeals we requested on-the-spot verification of the validity of our arguments about human rights violations and the genocide being practiced against the Abkhaz people. In this respect the situation prevailing in the Abkhazian capital—the city of Sukhumi—is instructive. Immediately after the introduction of Georgian State Council troops into Abkhazian territory, we took all necessary measures to keep Abkhazian and Georgian formations apart. We held vigorous talks about this 15-16 August. We reached an understanding that Abkhazian formations would leave Sukhumi in the direction of Gumista River, while Georgian formations would leave in the direction of Kelasuri River.

In accordance with these understandings Abkhazian formations left the city while Georgian formations entered it. After this the robberies and violent attacks, which began in the city back on 14 August, assumed even greater proportions.

We have a sufficient quantity of materials confirming this, but nobody is listening to us.

The same one-sidedness afflicts the materials concerning discussion of the Abkhazian problem in the UN Security Council, where all discussion has been reduced to listening to a report by Georgian representative A. Kavsadze.

We were not informed of the discussion of this problem.

In connection with the foregoing I appeal to you with a request to give the Abkhazian side the opportunity to state its position in the UN Security Council, which will undoubtedly be in the interests of objectivity and comprehensive research into the Abkhazian problem.

With respect,

[Signed] Prof. V. Ardzinba, chairman of the Republic of Abkhazia Supreme Soviet.

Fighting in Abkhazia; Helicopter Downed 13 Feb

OW1402181193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1802 GMT 14 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] There was more fighting in Abkhazia overnight. Reports by Georgian and Abkhazian defence ministries speak of artillery and machine gun fire exchanges by the Gumista river outside Sukhumi.

Reports from Tbilisi say two Abkhazian speed boats trying to approach the coast near the village of Babushera on Saturday night came under artillery fire by Georgian coastguardmen. One of the boats is believed to have sunk.

In the meantime, reports from Gudauta say Georgia is planning a troop landing operation.

Five Abkhazians were killed and more than 10 others injured following clashes outside Beslakhuba and Tskhenis Tskali villages in the Ochamchira region, a report from Tbilisi said. Several Georgian soldiers were also wounded.

In Saturday's appeal on Gudauta radio station, the Abkhazian parliament called on members of the Mengrel minority of the autonomy's Ghal region to give support to what it described as the Abkhazians' just struggle against the Georgian army.

Reports from Gudauta also say that supporters of former Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia in western Georgia try to disrupt ammunition and weapons supply to Georgian troops deployed in Abkhazia. Two Georgian MI-8 helicopters were shot down by Gamsakhurdia supporters on Saturday, claims the Abkhazian defence ministry.

Sigua Warns Russia Against Pro-Abkhaz Stance

LD1302132993 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 13 Feb 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Over the past 24 hours the situation in the Georgian-Abkhaz conflict remained tense. All sources of information in this region of the Caucasus confirm that the Guduata forces are concentrating personnel and equipment near the Gumistan River for an attack on Sukhumi, but the Gudauta leaders constantly deny these reports.

At the same time Tbilisi continues to accuse Russia of supporting the Gudauta forces.

[Begin Georgian Prime Minister Tenghiz Sigua recording] If Russia does not change its position—at present it is clearly occupying a pro-Abkhaz position, there can be no doubt about this—we will have to refuse Russian participation. [end recording]

Things are not calm at present in Tbilisi and some other towns of the republic because supporters of Gamsakhurdia are again making themselves felt. But as far as concerns the introduction of Georgian armed forces into Adzharia, Shevardnadze thinks that this is a deliberate provocation. This opinion is shared by Aslan Abashidze, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Adzharia, who spoke earlier today on Georgian television.

Kitovani Confident of Defending Sukhumi; Admits Opposition

LD1202210993 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 12 Feb 93

[By correspondent Kandiashvili, including recorded remarks by Defense Minister Tengiz Kitovani during interview on 12 February; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Following an order by Eduard Shevardnadze, supreme commander in chief of Georgia, fortification of the towns of Sukhumi and Ochamchira against attacks by Abkhaz forces is continuing apace. Defense Minister Tengiz Kitovani pointed out in an interview with Vesti:

[Kitovani] The Abkhaz side will not be able to break through these defenses itself, if Russia does not interfere in this conflict situation. And that is that.

[Kandiashvili] Nevertheless, there are other forces in Georgia.

[Kitovani] There is a large sector of the population, about a million people, who are against the current government.

[Kandiashvili] Be that as it may, local experts and correspondents believe that Eduard Shevardnadze's speech at the parliament sitting yesterday consolidated the Georgian people into specific percentages.

Believes Russians Pose Threat

OW1502111293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1048 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Georgian Defense Minister Tengiz Kitovani believes that the only threat to Georgian formations in Abkhazia is posed by the Russian forces deployed in the region, which, in his words, "may take part in the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict." In a Monday [15 February] interview with Georgian television, Kitovani reported that the Georgian Defense Ministry on Saturday set an ultimatum before the Russian Defense Department which stated that necessary measures would be taken if Russian military leaders did not cease making statements like one by General Sorokin, commander of the Russian forces in Abkhazia. The general, said Kitovani, threatened to bombard not only Sukhumi, but also the entire Black Sea coast all the way to Batumi. The minister did not specify what measures he had in mind.

Commenting on reports of Abkhazian force concentrations along the front lines on the Gumista River near Sukhumi, Kitovani said that the Georgian Army would take measures in response.

The minister reported that Georgia had been forced to waste 10 Mn [million] rubles a day on the war in Abkhazia. This figure, he said, did not include the cost of weapons and ammunition which were daily sent to Abkhazia. The war, said Kitovani, had already deprived Georgia of a sum equal to five years worth of the national budget.

Pro-Gamsakhurdia Rallies More Frequent in Zugdidi

AU1202114993 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0900 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Text] Rallies attended in the main by supporters of the ex-president and by those who come out of curiosity have recently become more frequent in Zugdidi.

On 10 February, at 1200, a 300-strong rally was held in the square in front of the "Sakartvelo" cinema that was attended by supporters of the former government both from Zugdidi and other regions in Samegrelo and also from Abkhazia and Kutaisi. According to the speakers, the rally was held in support of the population of Adzharia, who, it was claimed, are facing the threat of Georgian annexation. They demanded the resignation of the chairman of the Georgian Parliament-head of state [Eduard Shevardnadze] and the withdrawal of Georgian Armed Forces from Abkhazia.

Gamsakhurdia Supporters Capture Government Tanks

LD1202181593 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1100 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Text] Supporters of Zviad Gamsakhurdia have captured in the region of Zugdidi eight T-55 tanks which were on their way from Sukhumi to Tbilisi for repair. According to information obtained by RIA from sources within the Georgian Ministry of Defense, armed groups of Gamsakhurdia supporters have recently become active in the western part of the republic.

In connection with the concentration of Abkhazian units near Sukhumi, Georgian Prime Minister Tengiz Sigua and Defense Minister Tengiz Kitovani have announced additional recruitment to the Georgian armed forces.

Kitovani Dismisses Reports

AU1202124493 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0900 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Text] Two days ago, Radio Liberty broadcast a report that armed formations made up of Gamsakhurdia supporters in the Samegrelo region were given eight tanks and that the same formations robbed a convoy that was transporting Grad rockets to Sukhumi. In the view of the supreme command of the Georgian Ministry of Defense, this information broadcast by Radio Liberty is disinformation.

As the republic's Defense Minister Tengiz Kitovani stated, these eight tanks that appeared in the hands of Loti Kobalia's armed contingent in western Georgia were being taken out of Sukhumi for repair and, once this was completed, they were to be returned to their former combat positions. As the defense minister said, he had a conversation with Loti Kobalia and said these tanks would be returned to the Ministry of Defense.

Regarding the convoy carrying the Grad rockets, its robbery was the result of chaos and irresponsibility. The convoy, which was to have been unloaded in Sukhumi, because of someone's negligence, was not unloaded and [words indistinct]. The Ministry of Defense is certain that these rockets will soon be returned to their lawful [word indistinct].

In the view of the leadership of the Ministry of Defense, the source of this disinformation must have come from outside Georgia; these are forces who are interested in creating destabilization in Georgia.

Gamsakhurdia Not Planning To Emigrate

OW1602130293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1146 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The former Georgian president Zviad Gamsakhurdia has denied media reports about his intentions to emigrate and seek political asylum in the West. In a statement issued on Monday [15 February] night he emphasized that he is not planning to leave the Caucasus and even if he does make a visit to some country, he will certainly return.

Adzharia Takes Measures To Repel Government Invasion

OW1202172493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1459 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Aslan Abashidze, the chairman of the parliament of Adzharia (an autonomous republic in Georgia) confirmed reports about growing fears lest Georgia may send its troops to Adzharia. He told Georgian TV on Friday that the Adzharian leaders had taken measures to prevent the intrusion of Georgian troops.

Batumi believes that Georgian units may come to Adzharia to seize weapons from the Russian military units located in this autonomous republic.

Earlier, Tbilisi had officially denied reports about the Georgian army's plans to move to Adzharia.

Adzharis Request Russian Border Aid

LD1202183193 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1500 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Text] The Adzhari Parliament has appealed to Russia's Batumi border troops detachment to heighten their control of the republic's maritime border to prevent the approach of unknown vessels toward Adzharia. Adzhari militia posts on the roads linking Georgia to Adzharia are being patrolled by tanks and servicemen. According to the RIA agency, a detachment of the Adzhari National Guard numbering 300 people is to be formed in Kobuleti Rayon on the border with Georgia.

Shevardnadze Denies Offensive Imminent

LD1202211593 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 12 Feb 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The political situation in Georgia has been sharply exacerbated over the past two days. The reason for this is reports that in the very near future, presumably during the period 13-15 February, the Abkhazian side will be undertaking a large-scale offensive against Sukhumi and that Georgia's armed forces are allegedly getting ready to invade the Adzharian region.

Radio Liberty reported that a number of high-ranking Georgian military chiefs, ensuing from a conflict with Shevardnadze, have drawn up a plan for a military coup, the main aim of which is to terminate the war in Abkhazia and get the head of state to resign.

If one considers the fact that there has been a decision by the Confederation of Caucasian Peoples to shortly reinforce the group of volunteers in Abkhazia by a further 400 personnel and that antigovernment attitudes have been mounting in Adzharia, the balance of forces is not developing in official Tbilisi's favor, and the battle for Sukhumi is not far off.

This morning Eduard Shevardnadze described the rumors of Georgia's armed forces being introduced into Adzharia as a provocation and said that the loss of Sukhumi would mean the loss of Georgia's independence. The newspapers carry a decree by the head of state on measures to defend Sukhumi and the Ochamchira rayon.

Georgian Defense Minister Tengiz Kitovani has stated that the Georgian forces are loyal to the present leadership and will not permit disturbances in western Georgia.

Adzharia Chairman on Fears of Government Sabotage

LD1502173993 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0353 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Report by Batumi correspondent Vladimir Dvizhenkov]

[Text] Aslan Abashidze, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Adzharia, has spoken on local Batumi television. He has sharply criticized a statement made by Eduard Shevardnadze and his press center. As we know, the latter have declared that Adzharia has no grounds to fear aggression from Tbilisi. In his television statement, Abashidze cited numerous examples corroborating the information that a whole range of terrorist and sabotage acts were in the making. It is sufficient to say that some time ago there was an attempt to murder the chairman of the Adzharia Supreme Soviet himself. He was nearly killed at point-blank with a Kalashnikov machine-gun in his own office. Today only bullet scars right next to the carotid artery remind us about it.

Right now, Adzharia is going through much harsher trials. According to well-informed sources, military planes and helicopters of the Georgian National Guard are gathered dangerously closely to Batumi. Meanwhile, the appeal of the guard's leader, Minister of Defense Tengiz Kitovani, to prevent any unrest in western Georgia is regarded in Adzharia as a pretext to introduce government troops. The population of the autonomous republic is frightened by numerous cases of violence and looting that has been allowed by the Guardsmen in Sukhumi. There is no doubt that the people's militia of Adzharia, together with the Russian army units deployed in Batumi, will resist any armed forces trying to sneak in here, said Aslan Abashidze.

Shevardnadze Criticizes Russians Over Adzharia Case

LD1502193893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1756 GMT 15 Feb 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Tbilisi, 15 February—Eduard Shevardnadze, Georgian head of state, has accused "Russian reactionary forces" of trying to "play the Adzharia card." In an interview for Georgian television, he termed as "dangerous" statements made by some Russian media to the effect that the Adzhar autonomous republic in the south of Georgia falls within the sphere of Russia's geopolitical interests, and that the Georgian leadership has been trying to get rid of Aslan Abashidze, chairman of the Adzhar Supreme Soviet, and to open some kind of "second front" on the territory of Adzharia.

"Obviously," Shevardnadze said, "Aslan Abashidze and I have different points of view on certain problems but there is no confrontation between us."

The Georgian leader pointed out that neither President Boris Yeltsin nor Russia's democratic leadership are involved in this anti-Georgian campaign.

Parliamentary Factions' Conditions for Russian Ties

AU1502114093 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA in Georgian 2 Feb 93 p 2

["A Statement by Factions and Deputies of the Republic of Georgia Parliament;" place and date not given]

[Text] **In spite of the fact that, in accordance with a statement issued by the Georgian Parliament on 17 December 1992, the Georgian supreme legislative body demanded the withdrawal of Russia's Armed Forces from the territory of Abkhazia, this demand has remained completely ignored by the Russian side to this day. Furthermore, during recent meetings between the highest Georgian and Russian military representatives, the position of the Russian side has become patently clear, namely, that the Russian units located in Abkhazia do not intend to leave this territory. We believe that the aggression perpetrated precisely by the Russian side, and which is continuing today, represents the main stumbling block regarding the restoration of Georgian jurisdiction of the ancient Georgian territories of Abkhazia and the Tskhinvali region.**

It was pointed out in the same Georgian parliamentary statement of 17 December that Parliament should discuss the question of the expediency of preparing a Russian-Georgian Treaty of "Friendship and Cooperation." In the first variation of the text, which was subsequently changed for different reasons, it was stated that it was necessary to halt the second round of Russian-Georgian negotiations, which was conditioned by multilateral, including armed aggression on the part of the Russian side against Georgia. In spite of all this, the third round of negotiations on the preparation of a Russian-Georgian Treaty of "Friendship and Cooperation" began on 25 January of this year, on which the appropriate decision was not adopted by Parliament.

In this respect, we, the representatives of Georgian parliamentary factions and deputations, declare the following:

1. Unfortunately, relations between Russia and Georgia today cannot be called friendly. We can convince neither objective foreign observers nor the hundreds of relatives of the dead and the thousands of refugees of this, as they know that the reason for their and the whole of Georgia's misfortune is precisely, first and foremost, the imperial policy implemented by Russia toward Georgia that has recently assumed the form of unconcealed military action.

2. It is beyond question that, to regulate Russian-Georgian relations, an international legal basis in the form of an interstate treaty has to exist, but the goal of the treaty, its content, and, correspondingly, its name have to be determined in such a way that normal and equal state relations between the two neighboring countries may be established with the exclusion of all such elements that exceed the bounds of legally formed and

correct mutual relations. It is not a treaty of "friendship and cooperation" that, in this form, is adopted less frequently in the world but a treaty "on the principles of interstate relations" that corresponds to this aim.

3. It is inadmissible that the universally recognized rules and obligations of international law, including the principles of the protection of human rights and the protection of the rights of national minorities should figure in the text of the treaty as an obligation mutually incumbent on the sides. A whole number of articles (7, 8, 9, 10) in the Treaty of "Friendship and Cooperation" that concern the rights of national minorities represent a form of mutual obligation between the sides that, taking into account the imbalance of their political, economic, and military force, signifies that one side is being given a reason to interfere in the internal affairs of the other at any time.

4. The temporary presence of Russia's Armed Forces on the territory of the Republic of Georgia may be viewed only as a concession on the part of the Georgian authorities toward the Russian side that takes into account the interests of the latter, for which certain compensation is owed to Georgia from Russia. Such a concession cannot be extended to the units located in the conflict regions as they represent unconcealed aggression and a weapon in the hands of Russia for interfering in the internal affairs of Georgia.

Taking into account all the aforementioned, we, the representatives of factions and deputations of the Georgian Parliament, demand:

1. The withdrawal of Russian troops from Abkhazia be viewed as a necessary condition for the continuation of Russian-Georgian negotiations concerning the conclusion of a treaty.

2. The Georgian delegation be entrusted with conducting negotiations only on the conclusion of a treaty "on the principles of interstate relations" between Russia and Georgia.

At the next session of Parliament, we will submit the appropriate draft resolution to a roll-call vote.

N. Natadze, on behalf of the deputation of the Georgian Popular Front, T. Paatashvili, on behalf of the "Charter-91" deputation, V. Khmaladze, on behalf of the faction of "Republicans," T. Chkheidze, on behalf of the deputation of the Ilia Chavchavadze Society, A. Asatiani, on behalf of the deputation of the Union of Georgian Traditionalists, V. Adamia, on behalf of the All-Georgian Merab Kostava Society.

Shevardnadze Confirms Meeting With Chechen President

LD1402182093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1809 GMT 14 Feb 93

[Text] Tbilisi February 14 TASS—The press service of Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze confirmed on Sunday that Shevardnadze met with Chechen President Dzhokhar Dudayev on February 3.

"We were unanimous in our understanding that it is necessary take measures to stabilise the situation in the Caucasus," Shevardnadze said.

"The meeting was held at the Chechen president's initiative," Shevardnadze said. "Although the offer was unexpected I accepted it because I believe that such contacts between politicians of the Caucasian region are necessary for clearing up positions and finding points of contact," the Georgian leader said.

Shevardnadze said he and Dudayev also had a detailed discussion of prospects for holding a meeting of the leaders of all Caucasian republics.

Estonia

Russian Troop Pullout Top Defense Ministry Goal

OW1402182893 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1759 GMT 14 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Estonian Defense Ministry is regarding as its primary objective speedy and organized withdrawal of the Russian troops from Estonia. The republic's Defense Minister, Hain Rebas, made this statement in an interview for the Estonian "POSTIMEES" daily. Mr Rebas observed that his ministry is not going to "look for pretexts for conflicts with the Russian Armed Forces, as long as the latter behave themselves." The minister said that according to his ministry's preliminary estimates, currently stationed in Estonia are about 15-20,000 troops. In admitting that he does not possess any exact data, Mr Rebas said that "the Estonian authorities still do not have powers to verify the numeric strength of the Russian troops stationed in Estonia." Mr Rebas also said he could not categorically assert that there had been no rotation of the Russian troops in Estonia before he assumed the office of the republic's defense minister, although, he went on, he was not aware of any such facts.

In the opinion of the Estonian defense minister, "we still cannot rely completely on the efficiency of our defense forces and border guard troops." He emphasized that he was especially concerned with the protection of the republic's shore line and air space. He called for additional government allocations for the development of these two defense sectors.

Ministry Official Denies Invitation to U.S. Maneuver

WS1202143193 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0827 GMT 12 Feb 93

[From 12 February HOMMIKULEHT, p 3]

[Text] 12 February 1993—The Lithuanian Home Defence Ministry announced that the US Defence Ministry has made a suggestion to the Baltic states to participate in the manoeuvres of the US Navy called "US Baltic Operation 93" this June. Chancellor of Estonian Defence Ministry Hannes Walter said that no official suggestion has been made.

Estonia has a Naval Border Guard with four vessels as well as a Coast Guard. In Lithuania as well as Latvia, the Navy as well as the Naval Border Guard is being formed. The Lithuanian Navy has three boats—two frigates and one training ship, the Border Guard has but a few coastguard launches.

At the manoeuvres "US Baltic Operations '93" mainly search and rescue work in the sea will be trained as well as protection of the economic zone and fighting against smugglers. Thus, this would be no ordinary military training.

Defense Minister Urges Swedish Military Aid

PM1202170093 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 5 Feb 93 p 3

["Focus" article by Defense Minister Hain Rebas: "The Baltic States Need Swedish Military Aid"]

[Text] A central aim in Swedish foreign policy, Sverker Astrom wrote in this column a while ago, is that Sweden should be involved in incorporating Russia into the work of European integration.

If this task can be deemed to be of central importance for the relatively distant Sweden, it is of vital importance to the Estonia which has risen from the ashes and which shares a disputed border with Russia. It is in actual fact a question of Estonia's survival.

For if the West including the Baltic region does not succeed—hand in hand with the Russian democrats—in Europeanizing Russia, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania and their inhabitants will not survive the convulsions.

According to a recent interview in the magazine, BUNTE, European politician Otto von Habsburg fears that President Yeltsin will disappear and there will be an explosive antidemocratic reaction in Russia within two years. This would mean, he said, a Russian-Islamic war in the south and military attacks on the Baltic region.

Last summer the Estonian Defense Ministry was reestablished. Its task is to formulate defense concepts and military doctrine, and take care of legislation and the organization, training, and equipping of defense staffs and armed forces.

The dominant idea is that defense forces consisting of well-trained and well- motivated soldiers will have a deterrent effect on possible future reactionary Russian nationalist and/or communist warlords in rebellion against Moscow who could turn up at the head of their terrorist bands. The parallels with the events of 1918-20 and with our own era's former Yugoslavia are tangible.

Estonia and the Baltic states need the support—economically, but also militarily—of the rest of the world when facing such a prospect. In his article Sverker Astrom proposes that Sweden should relax the total ban on arms exports to permit arms for the three Baltic countries. It is "clear" he writes that they "need light arms for policemen and border guards." He even states that there is a "strong Swedish interest" in their being able to acquire these defensive arms.

The defense aid Estonia has received from Sweden is the promise of some training, an unarmed coastal surveillance vessel, instruments for a platoon of musicians, and surplus commissariat materiel—including recently 2,000 m/39-58 uniforms and m/60 winter caps.

But we have not reached the next stage—of shipping across hand-me-down Swedish vehicles and radio equipment which are rusting on Swedish garrison parking lots or gathering dust in mobilization stockpiles. And the Swedish Government has so far not even been willing to discuss stage three—exporting old Swedish defensive weapons. And all this despite the fact that Sweden's current prime, foreign, and defense minister have long been knowledgeable and committed friends of the Baltic region!

While waiting to be scrapped these large stockpiles of vehicles, radio equipment, and arms have to be looked after and also guarded. This is expensive for the taxpayers. It is well known that at present Sweden's defense forces are being completely reorganized. Masses of materiel is left standing in stores, from the Kiruna of the Lappland riflemen in the north to the Ystad of Skane's armored divisions, and is of no use at all.

Even though Estonia does not intend to set up much more than three reinforced rifle battalions plus border defenses, nationwide civil defense, and support units, finding premises, wages, and commissariat, communications, and transport materiel and arms means a huge amount of spending in a country facing economic hardship.

Compared with the Estonian the Swede, despite all the Swedish "crises," lives in a luxury that is pure heaven! In the context of defense the Estonians are even starting from below degree zero, so run-down and dirty were the buildings and installations which the withdrawing (Soviet) Russian military left behind.

In the next financial year the Estonian Government intends to set aside a few million dollars for arms purchases. But for us this modest 3.38 percent of the national budget represents big money, and it is by no means certain that parliament will approve the sum. It goes without saying that we would rather be investing in schools, hospitals, and pensions. If only we dared.

But given what the world looks like today—especially the world east of Lake Peipus, that is, in Leningrad military district (it is still called that!) and in the region around Pskov—and as long as the governments of the Nordic area do not think like Sverker Astrom, we dare not do anything other than sink a part of the GNP in expensive defense materiel. And in addition we are forced to feed the clan of international arms dealers.

Naturally in the field of defense and arms Estonia also wants to enter into cooperation with the neighbors we feel the closest kinship with—namely the Nordic countries, particularly Finland and Sweden. But so far we have been forced to buy arms from regimes which are alien to us. For example, last summer we had only around 250 automatic carbines in Estonia and—so as to be able to safeguard the first constitutional elections in September—we bought a further 2,000—from Iliescu's Romania....

Without any problems at all the Swedish military could give us, for its abundant surplus materiel, equipment for the defense staffs of three or four military districts, and a full set of materiel for a complete infantry brigade. And there would still be an enormous surplus in Sweden.

For example, Estonia is interested in the m/96 rifle, an excellent gun for basic rifle training, despite its age of almost 100 years. Before World War II Estonians had been world champions at shooting several times. Today this skill is nonexistent. At the same time thousands of m/96's are just waiting to be smashed to pieces in Sweden.

Thus Estonia is more than willing to free Sweden from some of its expensive surplus materiel. This would undoubtedly be to Sweden's advantage economically. In addition Swedish-Estonian cooperation in this field too would guarantee a gradual increase in prosperity, increasing democratic influence, and peace in our shared Baltic Sea region.

Estonia's defenses must be at least as strong as to be able to deter warlords in rebellion against Moscow. Finally, and to go back to the idea of Swedish economic and technical aid: Surely the idea of using Swedish (surplus) equipment to defend democracy and also Swedish investments in a friendly and peaceful neighboring country cannot be completely alien to Sweden?

And perhaps some rethinking is taking place in the Swedish Government. The other day Defense Minister Anders Bjorck said in SVENSKA DAGBLADET that he could envisage a review of Sweden's restrictive position on the export of arms to the Baltic states.

Faction News Conference on Russian Soldiers' Entry

WS1202140593 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0827 GMT 12 Feb 93

[From 12 February RAHVA HAAL, p 3]

[Text] 12 February 1993—The "Fatherland" faction held a news conference yesterday on the scandal concerning the Defence Ministry and the Russian soldiers allowed to enter Estonia. The faction considers the Defence Minister's decision wrong and Minister Hain Rebas has admitted it himself. He dismissed adviser Elmo Priks who was accused of misinforming the Minister. Faction vice-chairman Indrek Kannik criticized the Popular Centrists for not presenting any concrete evidence of the presence of the Russian soldiers, sc that the government could react. Kannik admitted that the waste of taxpayers' money by Main Rebas is indefensible and the Minister has promised to repay the amount. However, the attacks against Rebas are mainly subjective and caused by another attempt to find a weak link in the government, according to Kannik. He also accused the opposition and the Popular Centrists in particular in an attitude generally directed against the foreign-based Estonians who hold state posts.

The "Fatherland" representatives also discussed two draft laws currently discussed, which are to simplify the granting of Estonian citizenship to Ingrian Finns living in Estonia. Mart Nutt rejected the appeal by 24 Riigikogu members to change the constitution in order to elect the president directly instead of by the Riigikogu. That would cause a contradiction between the president's mandate and his duties and responsibilities, Nutt explained. Heikki Raudla discussed the administrative reform. Merging the countries or boroughs would only cause disorder, he warned. The local elections cannot be organized before autumn, Raudla said.

Opposition Proposes Creation of Popular Assembly

OW1302170793 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1555 GMT 13 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Friday [12 February] representatives of Estonia's all opposition parties and movements sharply criticized the activity of the present government and parliamentary coalition majority.

Representatives of Coalition party Riivo Sinijarv and Toomas Alatalu expressed the opinion that one of the possible ways out of the existing political situation would be creation of Popular Assembly. According to them, people who ran for the State Assembly and received the greatest number of votes should be in the composition of the Assembly.

Leaders of opposition believe that such Assembly would enjoy a greater support of the people than the State Assembly.

Meri, Turkish Ambassador Discuss Ties

WS1202141593 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1720 GMT 11 Feb 93

[Text] Tallinn, 11 February 1993—Estonia's President Lennart Meri on Thursday [11 February] received Turkey's ambassador to Estonia, Erkan Gezen, the President's office informed ETA.

Gezen said Estonian-Turkish relations should resume under agreements concluded already before the World War II.

Meri said in addition to East-West relations dominating in Europe today, also North-South relations should be developed. One of the possible ways in uniting north and south is a transport plan VIA BALTICA, starting from the Baltic Sea and reaching through the three Baltic countries to Poland and Germany.

Both Estonia and Turkey consider important supporting democracy in the former Soviet Union, the President's office said in a press release.

Chinese Ambassador Conveys Official Greetings

OW1102224693 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1856 GMT 11 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Thursday [11 February], Chinese Ambassador Sun Dadong presented his credentials to Estonian President Mart Laar.

According to the account provided by the Estonian presidential press service, at the ceremony in Kardriorg Palace the Chinese Ambassador conveyed greetings to the Estonian people from Chinese President Yang Shangkun and Prime Minister Li Peng.

He expressed hope that relations between the two countries will see a successful development on the basis of the bilateral trade and economic agreement the countries concluded last year.

President Lennart Meri expressed his acknowledgement to China for its recognition of "Estonia's primary problem—expeditious withdrawal of Russian troops from its territory."

On the same day, the Chinese Ambassador was received by Estonian Foreign Minister Trivimi Velliste. During their conversation, Sun Dadong noted that Estonia's foreign and domestic policies are treated with due understanding by the Chinese Government.

During the meeting, the parties also touched on the issue of Taiwan. Mr. Velliste assured the Chinese Ambassador that Estonia's relations with that country are confined to cultural and economic contacts.

Sun Dadong informed the Estonian minister of the plans by the Beijing city administration to open a Chinese restaurant and a trading center in Tallinn.

Latvia

Defense Minister Meets Belgian Counterpart

LD1202233693 Riga Radio Riga Network in Russian 2100 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Text] Latvian Defense Minister Talavs Jundzis is in Belgium and has met Belgian Defense Minister Leo Delcroix, who offered assistance to the Latvian defense forces. As a result of the cut in the Belgian Armed Forces, military equipment and material resources for its support are free. We are ready to freely hand them over to the Latvian defense forces that are being formed, Delcroix stated. However, Jundzis turned down this offer, referring to the lack of necessity for heavy armaments.

Agreement Reached

LD1202234493 Riga Radio Riga International in English 2130 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Text] The Latvian defense minister, Talavs Jundzis, has received a warm welcome during his trip to the Benelux countries. The Belgian defense minister has offered military equipment to the Latvian defense forces, in view of the expected cuts in the Belgian Armed Forces. After the meeting, Jundzis said an agreement had been reached on signing a mutual cooperation treaty between Latvia and Belgium and the Belgian defense minister had kindly accepted an invitation to visit Latvia in September. Yesterday the Latvian defense minister had a meeting with the secretary general of NATO, Manfred Woerner, during which the latter had praised the strengthening of ties between the three Baltic states. The secretary general said he had always emphasized the need of speeding up the withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltic States at all international summits.

Comments on Return

LD1302232393 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1800 GMT 13 Feb 93

[Text] Latvian Defense Minister Talavs Jundzis returned today from a conference for parliamentarians of the North Atlantic Assembly, in which he participated as a deputy of the Supreme Council of Latvia. Jundzis also had several meetings representing the Latvian Defense Ministry. Immediately upon his return the minister spoke with journalists at the airport:

[Begin Jundzis recording] A meeting with NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner, (?talking) for approximately an hour with the NATO secretary general, meeting with the deputy secretary general of the Western European Union, meeting with the new president of the North Atlantic Assembly, from France, meeting with the Belgian minister of defense, and meeting with the Luxembourg minister of defense in Luxembourg. [sentence as heard]

It should be said that none were simply courtesy calls. They were really visits marked by very serious developments, maybe even such that they will have historic significance. Probably the most important event during my visit was that NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner announced....[pauses] Well, it did not happen in honor of my visit, but that very day he came out with the initiative to form peacekeeping forces within the framework of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council. So then, peacekeeping forces of the states of the former Warsaw Pact, the Baltic states, and those that are members of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council. [sentence as heard]

At the moment it is not yet completely clear how will it be and what it will mean, but in any case it will be clear on 29 March when a joint meeting of the ministers of NATO and the North Atlantic Cooperation Council takes place in Brussels.

Regarding the Belgian minister of defense, I think that the most important point was a proposal voiced by him that Belgium is ready to cooperate and to conclude a bilateral agreement with Latvia on cooperation in the defense sector and also to supply equipment, military equipment, and [word indistinct] necessary for the Latvian Defense Forces. His proposal was also, so to speak, a very original one, one that even surprised me and one that seems extremely acceptable, positively—on the possibility of concluding an agreement, a direct agreement between the Baltic states and the Benelux states on cooperation in the military sphere.

This is very interesting. If, you see, the Benelux countries cooperate with the Baltic states, it will first allow us, the Baltic states, the three states, to become better aware of ourselves and to create a more united defense concept or defense system in the Baltic states, with us being able to cooperate accordingly with those Benelux states. [end recording]

Government To Resign if Parliament Rejects Budget

OW1202213693 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1945 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On the Latvian prime minister's request, the Presidium of the republic's Supreme Council resolved on Thursday to include in the agenda of its plenary session on February 16 one more discussion of the republic's state budget for 1993 which was turned town on Wednesday.

Prime Minister Ivars Godmanis explained that the Latvian government at its Wednesday evening session decided not to give up their draft budget, saying the government would resign if the parliament rejects it once again.

"The government will not re-address the daft budget unless the parliament resolves to increase sales taxes," the premier said.

Deputy Janis Skapars characterized the government's stance as an "attempt at rendering pressure on the parliament."

Budget Delays Preclude Godmanis From Leading Trip to Iran

OW1202133193 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1159 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Due to the fact that Latvia's 1993 budget proposal did not pass the first reading in parliament February 10th, Prime Minister Ivars Godmanis cannot head the government delegation going to Iran. The budget will be considered again on February 16th.

Possibly, Latvian Foreign Trade Minister Edgars Zausajevs [name as received] will have to head the delegation, if the Iranian side accepts this change.

Russia Introduces Double Taxation on Latvian Goods

LD1502091093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0839 GMT 15 Feb 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Kuchina]

[Text] Riga February 15 TASS—Russia has introduced double taxation on imports from Latvia on Monday thus adding the Baltic state to five other former Soviet republics which failed to obtain most favoured nation regime.

Although the regime was expected to be granted by a corresponding trade agreement signed last October, the Russian Parliament did not ratify it and the document would hardly be ratified in the near future, Latvian foreign trade officials were hinted in Moscow.

Latvian Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Andrey Runtsis believes the agreement was not ratified for political reasons. He told local mass media that Moscow complained about violations of human rights of the Russian-speaking population in Latvia, about a nationalised oil pipeline, about Latvian claims on the Russian property.

"For these reasons you cannot even hope for the ratification of the agreement", the deputy minister quoted Moscow officials as saying.

Trade relations with Latvia were severed by the Moscow government in retaliation to human rights violations. Mayor of Moscow Yuriy Luzhkov addressed the governments of Latvia and Estonia on Monday saying that discriminative policy is being carried out against non-indigenous population aimed to force the people emigrate from the republics. Moscow believes it impossible to develop economic and trade relations with Latvia and Estonia, he said.

Tariffs Must be Paid in National, Hard Currencies

OW1402191193 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1800 GMT 14 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On February 12 the Latvian government confirmed a decision from the republic's Customs Department stipulating that beginning February 15 customs duties must be paid in either Latvian rubles or in hard currency. The national currencies of CIS states will not be accepted for payments.

These limitations were introduced in connection with a decision the board of the Bank of Latvia made in mid-January to refuse to purchase non-convertible currencies.

Three Political Organizations Officially Registered

OW1302175093 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1556 GMT 13 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Latvian Justice Ministry has officially registered the first three public-political organizations "Movement for National Independence of Latvia," Latvian National Association "Tevzeme" (Homeland), Latvian branch of organization "Daugavas Vanagi" (Hawks of Daugava). This information was reported to BALTFAX correspondent by leader of public affairs section of Justice Ministry.

Due to this, a group of members of Movement for National Independence of Latvia headed by Olgerts Dzenitis should be registered under another name.

Lithuania

Brazauskas Wins Presidential Election 14 Feb

Interviewed on Election Results

LD1502035593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0315 GMT 15 Feb 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladas Burbulis]

[Text] Vilnius, 15 Feb—As it has been learned today, Algirdas Brazauskas was elected president of Lithuania in the elections held on Sunday [14 February].

In a brief interview with an ITAR-TASS correspondent, Brazauskas said that he views his election as "the wish of the people to improve the socioeconomic situation. I also spoke about this in my preelection program, which I will be striving to fulfill. As president, I will do everything to develop relations with neighboring states, including Russia and other countries as well, in a spirit of mutual understanding and cooperation based on equal rights," Brazauskas said. He emphasized that Lithuania has no territorial claims towards any other countries."

Reviews Upcoming Tasks

OW1502115193 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1118 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "I feel more of a sense of responsibility than elation," Algirdas Brazauskas told journalists in giving his reaction to the results of the first round of voting at the presidential elections in Lithuania after it had become clear that he would receive the mandate of the majority of the republic's citizens.

Brazauskas pointed out that "Lithuania was currently in a very difficult position." That was why, he continued, the president must bear responsibility for economic, social and internal and external issues. To resolve these issues, he said, would be fairly difficult under the given circumstances.

Reactions to Brazauskas' victory also testify to the fact that the new president's task would not be an easy one. Former Prime Minister Kazimiera Prunskinie and Romualdas Ozolas, a member of parliament, said during a late television broadcast that Brazauskas' victory "threatens Lithuania with continued stagnation." A number of other politicians, especially those representing parties and movements which backed Stasys Lozoraitis, Brazauskas' main opponent, are liberal with such statements as "Lithuania has made a socialist choice" or "there may now be a one-party dictatorship." They doubt the capability of the new president to "resist any pressure from the parliamentary majority" which, of course, is held by the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party headed by Brazauskas himself.

Gives News Conference on Victory

LD1502171193 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1000 GMT 15 Feb 93

[News conference given by Lithuanian Acting President Algirdas Brazauskas in Seimas Palace, Vilnius, moderated by Vilius Kavaliauskas—live]

[Text] [Kavaliauskas] In Lithuania, 78 percent of the electorate took part in the elections—2,011,735 voters, of whom 1,210,517—60.1 percent—voted for Mr. Brazauskas, while 767,345—38.3 percent—voted for Mr. Stasys Lozoraitis.

Esteemed President, we congratulate you on winning this number of votes which, I think, testifies to the fact that Lithuania has taken a good step toward democracy. I would like to invite you to take the floor.

[Brazauskas] My greetings to the esteemed viewers and also to those gathered here in this hall. Judging by the number of journalists present, I can say that the presidential elections, the first elections of this kind in our state, have aroused very great interest in many countries. We have passed the test in democracy; the elections proceeded in good order, the people took an active part in the elections, and a significant number of people did not put out the lights in their homes, since they were watching television and listening to the radio for the results of the elections. Of course, they were discussing and debating and perhaps arguing, some people were rejoicing, others perhaps were not very happy, however, I would like to thank everybody, to thank all the people, and first of all those who voted for me, to thank those with whom I met before the elections in various halls and in the open air and in the streets. I want to thank you for your interest in me and my future policies and in me as a person.

I think that the whole examination, which we took together with my opponent Mr. Stasys Lozoraitis, indicates once again that Lithuania is a democratic state, a democratic country where a democratic and responsible society is being formed. I think that this is a positive feature and a great positive plus for our state.

Therefore, I extend my hearfelt gratitude to everybody. Now I am ready to answer questions.

[Kavaliauskas] The daily RESPUBLIKA.

[Correspondent] Esteemed Mr. Brazauskas, I would like to thank you for allowing me to be the first to put a question, and I would like to congratulate you on victory on behalf, if not all the journalists, then at least the great majority of them here [words indistinct] Western democracy was widely tolerated by your opponent, has one more tradition of this democracy been observed, i.e. has your opponent congratulated you already?

[Brazauskas] Well, he has not yet congratulated me, because I have just arrived to my office, because I returned home very late last night or more precisely early in the morning. I think that he simply has not had yet the opportunity to congratulate me.

[Kavaliauskas] The BBC, please.

[Correspondent] Esteemed president, not long time ago you gave an interview to DER SPIEGEL in which you used a very good concept, that you see a certain person in a certain post. Prime Minister Lubys recently declared that on no account will he remain in his post, and you said that you see a new person in this post. Could I ask you whom you see in this post?

[Brazauskas] I see more than one person or a person whom I could see as the future prime minister, however, you understand that certain consultations are needed, certain debates and discussions must be held on these matters. Therefore, I am not inclined to name the person at such a large news conference without a serious discussion with this person himself or with these persons.

[BBC correspondent] Could it happen that this very person is sitting now next to you?

[Brazauskas, laughing] Well, you are here, well, there are many people sitting next to me here.

[Kavaliauskas] UPI.

[Correspondent, in English with translation into Lithuanian] There are rumors that a power struggle is going on in your party between more conventional, communist orientated people, and the new liberal trend. Will this continue after you have become the president and (?how could you avoid the confrontation)?

[Brazauskas] I did not quite understand your question or more precisely its formulation, that there is allegedly a power struggle between some old and some new forces. I think that this is a fabrication, because up to now I have not noticed any signs of this. This does not exist. The party which nominated me was unanimous in its opinion. When the parliament majority was formed from the members of the Democratic Labor Party or the people going along with them, I can put it this way, I can maintain that we passed the first test in parliamentary work, and I did not see any indications that any sort of struggle was going on between the old and the young [sentence as heard]. Because this party has been formed of the people who think in a new way, who see Lithuania in a completely different light compared with the old ones whom you are talking about, I mean the old ones. Therefore, we all have a very similar vision which does not provoke any internal disagreements.

[Kavaliauskas] Before going on to the next question I would like to present academician Raimondas Rajackas, leader of Mr. Algirdas Brazauskas' election campaign. Therefore, esteemed colleagues if you have any questions for Mr. Rajackas, you are welcome. Now the question from the Estonian newspaper POSTIMEES.

[Correspondent, in Russian] What new prospects do you see for cooperation among the three Baltic states, and do you intend to first meet your Baltic colleagues after you become the president of the Republic of Lithuania?

[Brazauskas] I already met them when I became acting president and this was not so long ago. Of course I am always prepared to meet them and these matters will be discussed. As for specific cooperation, there is no doubt that this cooperation should become significantly better and significantly more concrete. It should be more specific in individual spheres; we should not just adopt some joint political decisions or define our political stance. The time has come for us to closely cooperate in all spheres. In the western world many people see us as a close economic unit. Of course we are separate sovereign states, however, our economic interests are very similar, and with common economic interests we could solve problems while using both foreign capital and meeting the expectations of the West and, of course, at the same time we could solve our pressing issues, which are more of a long-term nature. For example, the development of power engineering, the development of gas economy in the Baltic states, perhaps specialization of the ports, road development and construction, coordination of work in railroad transport, and many many other spheres.

[Kavaliauskas] The LIETUVOS RYTAS daily.

[Correspondent] Mr. Brazauskas, you said during your election campaign that the litas would perhaps be introduced sooner. Which steps do you think should first be taken for the Lithuanian national currency to be introduced; the approximate period of time, because I do not expect you to name a specific date, in a month or two?

[Brazauskas] The first and indispensable condition is to appoint the leaders on whom the introduction of litas depends. This is the prime minister, the state bank, the minister of finance, of course, he is working, and the minister of economy. After the persons in these posts have been confirmed, some of them are already there, and there will probably be new people, then I will propose to start work at once on matters concerning litas. It is very difficult to name a specific period, however, I think that this should take place within a period of several months.

[Kavaliauskas] The newspaper SOL DE MEXICO.

[Correspondent, in Spanish with Lithuanian translation] Mr. President, are you going to use privatization as a means for restructuring the Lithuanian economy? This Is the first question. Are you going to use the experience of other countries, of your neighbors, in this sphere, say, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary?

[Brazauskas] Privatization has started in Lithuania. Only about 15 percent of the total capital in Lithuania has been privatized. I would like to say that this is very little. In my view, privatization is one of the main means to enliven our economy, our sphere of production, while modernizing and restructuring production and assessing the interests of our state as well as the possibilities for exporting and selling our products. Of course, privatization could be greatly helped by foreign capital. Unfortunately, we observe that so far a very small amount of this capital has come by way of investment in privatization in Lithuania. We must eliminate all the factors that restricted this, and this is one of our main tasks [words indistinct].

I am a great supporter of the idea of using the experience of similar states with a destiny similar to ours, such as Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland, and even our Baltic neighbors Estonia and Latvia. Some of them started this much earlier and have achieved incomparably better results. This could serve as a very good model for us.

[Kavaliauskas] Lithuanian radio external service.

[Correspondent] Are you going to keep Mr. Stasys Lozoraitis in the post of Lithuanian ambassador to Washington, bearing in mind that during the election campaign the members of your party have voiced much criticism directed at the Lithuanian Embassy there. Perhaps another post in the Lithuanian government will be proposed for Mr. Stasys Lozoraitis?

[Brazauskas] For the time being I think that Mr. Lozoraitis should return to the United States and represent our state, because as I understand it, no other official person has been appointed. Probably a lot of work has piled up there which has to be done at embassy level. This would be my answer. Concerning the future I would refrain from answering this right on first day after the elections.

[Kavaliauskas] The Italian agency [words indistinct].

[Correspondent, in English with Lithuanian translation] Mr. President, I think that I am not mistaken in saying that this is the first time in Lithuania, that in a post-communist country the parliamentary majority comprises the members of one party and the president from this party. Do you think this opens great possibilities for you, or a great responsibility? The second question. Mr. Lozoraitis proposed ...

[Brazauskas, interrupting] Things are the way they are. The Democratic Labor Party won the majority in the elections, in democratic elections; the party formed its program in a very concrete way and explained it to the people, and I do not see any unique case here. This party is a social democratic party which left the CPSU in 1989 and formed its own very concrete program which we have been explaining to the people during these three years. We kept in close touch with the Lithuanian public and the Lithuanian people, and the public has formed its opinion about us. The same can be said about the president, exactly the same, I could repeat it. The same arguments and the same reasons why so many votes and why such a great majority of people supported my candidature.

If some people think that this is a communist organization of some kind, then I can assure you all, if this was the case and if the candidate for president was also of the same kind, then the people in Lithuania would not wote for him. That is for sure, because people in Lithuania know what a communist is, nobody knows better what a communist is than the people in Lithuania. I speak about communism in the broad sense, like fascism.

[Kavaliauskas] Radio St. Petersburg.

[Correspondent] Mr. Brazauskas, on behalf of the people of St. Petersburg. I went on the air today [words indistinct]. My question to you: Is there a view in Lithuania that you are supported by a great number of the poorest and that the big businessmen give you little support? If this is so, then how are you going to disperse this apprehension in future by proving that their business will flourish?

[Brazauskas] We have contacts with private businessmen and during the election campaign I met them on more than one occasion; we discussed in great detail their questions and proposals on how to improve our laws on regulating business and economic initiative. I do not see any great contradictions, because these businessmen whom I met—and there were quite a large number of them, and in various cities—did not voice a negative attitude toward me or any sort of suspicion. These were more businesslike talks, very specific, during which they proposed amendments and supplements to enliven business, so that both the businessmen and the people as well as the state can profit thereby. If there are still some unclear points and doubts, I would think that during our further cooperation all this will disperse.

[Kavaliauskas] Esteemed president, I have a written question from the Chinese XINHUA agency. They ask you to voice your opinion about the prospects for the development of relations between Lithuania and China.

[Brazauskas] I like the stimulation of small business and small enterprises in China, of course as far as my information goes. It seems to me that this is a very specific issue which is also very pressing for us. I think that we could learn in this sphere, and analyze the Chinese experience. This is speaking very specifically. In general terms, we are greatly interested in maintaining the relations with such a huge state on the state political level and, of course, on the business level in other spheres; although China is quite distant, with the modern possibilities provided by transport and communications, we can shorten this distance considerably.

[Kavaliauskas] Italian television.

[Correspondent] I would like to know how you are going to meet the pope, and if his visit will have any influence on Lithuania and on you personally.

[Brazauskas] We are getting ready for the pope's visit. A commission has been set up by the church leaders; there is also a committee set up by our government, and they are working on the main questions with regard to the preparations. There is no doubt that this will be a great event in Lithuania. This will be a tremendous event and it will have a great impact on our society and I hope on the consolidation of this society, and it will serve in uniting people. I have no doubt that it will have a great influence on me personally, because I have never had a chance to meet the pope in my life.

[Kavaliauskas] [words indistinct]

[Correspondent] Mr. President, during the election campaign your opponent criticized you for your excessive diversion, so to speak, toward economic issues. Don't you think that if there is famine the president should be where the famine is, and if there is an epidemic the president should be where the epidemic is, and if there is a fire, he must be there. How do you imagine your place in society? Thank you.

[Brazauskas] Of course the duties of the president define his work. The duties are set out in our constitution in an absolutely specific way, and I am prepared to adhere to it one hundred percent. During the election campaign people showed great interest in specific matters concerning the economy, society, and social security. And I spoke about these. All these hundreds and thousands of questions were related to the above issues. The answers to all of these questions used to take up two-thirds of the total time. All these questions concerned issues which were pressing to the people. Therefore, the content of the speeches and questions and answers in the election campaign should not be transferred into official activities of the president.

Of course I am prepared to allow the government to work professionally and undisturbed without encroaching upon it or taking over the solution of some issues. However, I am prepared to take an active part in the formation of these issues and in their solution, both in the Seimas and the government. We have institutions that are not subordinate to the government. I have in mind the juridical institutions, the state controllers, the

National Security Service. Uniting all forces and efforts, for example, on a pressing issue such as how to combat crime; I think that here the role of the president is great and necessary [words indistinct]. I hope to give more attention to relations with public organizations. During the conversations, their proposals, wishes and so on will be elucidated, and this will take up a considerable part of my activity.

[Kavaliauskas] ITAR-TASS, St. Petersburg section.

[Correspondent, in Russian] Mr. Brazauskas, how do you see further relations between Lithuania and Russia, and are direct contacts between Lithuania and St. Petersburg possible?

[Brazauskas, in Russian] Well, the contacts with Russia, I would not like to describe them now, they are not sufficiently developed, I would put it that way, they are not sufficiently specific, taking into account mutual interests. This should be done and we will be doing this, first of all. [continues in Lithuanian] I am sorry, because the question was asked in Russian and I started automatically speaking Russian. These relations of course will be improved, first of all by appointing our ambassador and the delegation for the negotiations with the Russian leadership. The main thing is that there should be authorized persons who will be able to take part in the solution of these matters.

Well, St. Petersburg is a vast city with great cultural and economic potential, and cooperation has already been established in many fields, especially in science and technology and design, and I believe that on the level of public organizations these ties could be better.

[Kavaliauskas] Japanese ASAHI SHIMBUN.

[Correspondent; in Russian] [passage indistinct] The second question. What is more important—the withdrawal of Russian troops, or receiving oil from Russia?

[Brazauskas] This involves many questions. First of all concerning the matters related to agriculture. It is hardly possible to give a detailed account here in this hall today. I would like to name only the main principles. First of all, to bring order into matters related to legalizing property on land. This work has already started and it will continue. Property right has to be restored, however,he land should be used for its proper purpose. (?The interests) should be collated and solved in the nearest future without violating the interests of the owner and without harming the owner or the potential owner, and on the other hand, the land should be used this spring. The success of our life, at least for this year and the next half year, will depend on how we manage to do this. This is our main task—to adopt relevant amendments and laws in the Seimas, and the government must adopt decrees and organize the work. Therefore, without going into too much detail, these would be the main principles, all the rest is specific work in adopting laws and decrees.

Your second question raises two matters which have no connection with each other. I do not want to link them on any account, because the troop withdrawal is proceeding in line with the specific agreements. The relevant national defense services are constantly monitoring it and I am regularly informed about this. Two days ago I received a report back about the situation, therefore, the situation is known to us in specific terms.

Well, matters concerning oil are matters about oil. These are trade links, trade relations with relevant organizations in Russia, with the Russian government, and these two issues are in no way linked today.

[Kavaliauskas] Polish [words indistinct].

[Correspondent] Can one expect that relations with Poland will become warmer, and what will be the basis of Polish-Lithuanian cooperation?

[Brazauskas] These relations, you must regard them as frozen because you speak of warmer relations. I would not say that they are completely frozen. They are insufficiently arranged, yes, I agree with you, because they should be arranged in a more concrete manner. I am very glad that Mr. President Walesa's envoy conveyed to me this morning his congratulations on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of our independence. I thank him very much and I asked today Mr. Ambassador to convey to the president my wish that we should meet in the nearest future, of course, after the inauguration, and discuss and maybe sign our inter-state treaty.

[Kavaliauskas] ITAR-TASS agency.

[Correspondent] My question is to Mr. Rajackas. You are a well-known scientist not only in Lithuania but also beyond its borders. You gave up your work and joined the campaign of Mr. Brazauskas, and became its leader. How can this be explained?

[Rajackas] First of all, the situation in Lithuania demands this, and this is above everything, above any scientific work. I decided to help our candidate in this campaign. I had to do this. I do not think that science will suffer because of this.

[Kavaliauskas] KAUNO DIENA newspaper.

[Correspondent] Mr. Brazauskas, I would like to know what you think about the results of the elections in Kaunas and Kaunas rayon?

[Brazauskas] It seems that Kaunas and Kaunas rayon do not trust me very much. The reason should be properly analyzed. I would like know precisely why there is such a skeptical attitude in Kaunas and Kaunas rayon toward me. I hope that during our activity we will elucidate the reasons why there is such an attitude toward me and I will endeavor to eliminate these reasons, so that we can be good friends and collaborators with Kaunas, and understand each other.

[Kavaliauskas] St Petersburg newspaper [words indistinct].

[Correspondent, in Russian] Mr. President, less than half of Lithuania's population voted for you, do you not see a political problem here?

[Brazauskas] I do not know what results you mention. You should take this piece of paper and then you would see that 60 percent and not 47 voted.

[Kavaliauskas] As far as I know the American President was elected by the votes of 25 percent of the citizens. BELINFORM.

[Correspondent, in Russian] Allow me to congratulate you on your elections and to put a rather complicated question: Mr. President, will the Lithuanian state be able to create a legal political mechanism which would exclude a return to events [words indistinct] your Slav neighbors—Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus?

[Brazauskas] I would say that such a mechanism is not concrete, it is abstract. Such mechanism consists of documents legalizing the stability of our state. First, the constitution and all other laws. I would not call it a mechanism, but as a means of maintaining this stability, that is, friendly relations with these states defined by our treaties and agreements, and not only at state level, but by agreements in various spheres of activity. This would ensure stability in relations among our states and this is the basis too, to do this. As regards the stability in these states, I would not be inclined to comment at length, but I believe stability will be maintained in these states, sufficient for the maintenance of normal inter-state relations to be useful to both sides.

[Kavaliauskas] Italian news agency.

[Correspondent] Lozoraitis may go to the embassy in Washington, but there is an agreement in Italy that he can be an ambassador in Rome. Can he be an ambassador in two countries?

[Brazauskas] The question of being an ambassador in two countries has not been examined. By no means. But that inquiry by the Italian government was made much earlier. It seems the former Lithuanian leadership has some plans for the future. There might have been a wish to use Mr. Lozoraitis as a diplomat in Italy.

[Unidentified correspondent] Mr. President, at present your party is a social democratic party, but I think that you will agree that you have spent all your life in a communist party and this should form many of your attitudes. Having spent decades in a communist party, how can you now lead the country to the western way of lfe and free market?

[Brazauskas] It seems that I can, since people trust me and elected me. This communist way of life and this communist way of thinking should be understood by being in that party, understood easier than observing all this from outside. I repeat once more my saying which I have cited for a long time, that the party consisted on 3 percent communists and 97 percent members. They used to work in various spheres of life, if we speak about us, in Lithuania, starting with composers, conductors and ending with designers, generals etc. Therefore, they have been everywhere. But in the situation of that time it was compulsory for the governing system of that time [sentence as heard]. Thinking that being a party member may put on a man, so to say, a psychological imprint or some deformations in his thinking, then I [words indistinct]. There were 110,000 such people in Lithuania. Today the former communist party members are everywhere, wherever you go or turn, they are there. They discharge their duties, they are qualified people, as far as I know, thousands of them, they are not influenced by this communist [words indistinct]. And if they are such people, then in the percentage which I mentioned. They do not exist in our state activity.

[Kavaliauskas] VARDAS magazine.

[Correspondent] How would you assess the option, which was not even used by the independent Lithuania of that time, of forming a bloc of the three Baltic states, for instance, following the example of the Benelux. And now a question for Mr. Rajackas: From which two mistakes committed by former president Smetona would you protect Mr. Brazauskas?

[Brazauskas] Regarding a bloc, this word smells somewhat of militarism. I do not think that such a bloc should be formed in the Baltic states. I believe that all three Baltic states will find their place in the European collective security system. Such blocs are at present not necessary, and a country our size should be neutral, this would the best way.

[Rajackas] Regarding mistakes, Mr. Brazauskas has been protected from the first mistake by Lithuania itself, which elected him president not with the help of a military force, but in a democratic way. Second, I think that Mr. Brazauskas will protect himself by not restricting democracy in Lithuania, but striving to ensure that this democratic [words indistinct].

[Unidentified correspondent, in Russian] I heard yesterday that a Scandinavian-Baltic investment program is in existence, but the Lithuanian Investment Bank is still subordinate to the government. In order to begin this program, it is essential that the Lithuanian Investment Bank is completely independent. What do you intend to do?

[Brazauskas] Yes, I know about that program; the Lithuanian Investment Bank is subordinate to the state, I understand this, but I think that this is not the reason. We have a sufficient number of commercial banks which should take a very active part in the investment process. The coordination of these investments is not sufficiently planned in our country, or, I would say, rendered concrete. The government must precisely define how these investments are accepted, how they can come to Lithuania. Many people complain that we act too slowly, that duties are not defined for individual ministries and highly placed officials who have the right to take decisions. We have to introduce order here. In this specific case we will examine this issue and see why it got stuck. I am ready to examine all this myself.

[Kavaliauskas] Before we have the last question, I would like to inform you that very highly placed foreign guests are arriving tomorrow for the celebrations of the 75th anniversary of independeence: Belarus Supreme Soviet Chairman Shushkevich, Latvian Supreme Council Chairman Gorbunovs, and others. I would also like to inform you that a letter of greetings was received today from U.S. President Clinton on the occasion of our state holiday, and there were also congratulations from the U.S. ambassador to Mr. Brazauskas on his election.

Now the last question, the newspaper KOMMERSANT.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, what will you say to your opponents who think that your coming into power means some step back to the past. And what kind of bodyguard will you have?

[Brazauskas] If we go back to the past, then all together with the opponents, because we all have the same education, we have defended the same theses, doing similar work. I would like to wish my opponents who take a skeptical view toward me and all others in the government to be patient in drawing conclusions. In normal states it is permitted to wait four, five, or even six months, as in America, people are permitted to work, and then conclusions are drawn. And now conclusions are being made when we have not yet managed to take half a step. They start factional activities, some people from the past, some from the future. We all have grown up together in this small Lithuania.

About the bodyguard. You have already seen how many people accompany me [passage indistinct] I am being watched here very carefully, and approximately this number will remain.

[Kavaliauskas] I thank the correspondents for their attention, and viewers for their patience.

Lozoraitis Says Democratic Process Will Slow Down

LD1602114293 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 0000 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] Speaking at a press conference today (15th) the other candidate to the post of president, Lithuanian Ambassador to the U.S. Stasys Lozoraitis, said that democratic processes would slow down after the presidential election. Mr. Lozoraitis admitted, however, that the election was democratic.

Commenting on the situation in Lithuania after the presidential election the diplomat noted that the country would face more problems in international cooperation. Estimating the election program of his rival in the election, President-elect Algirdas Brazauskas, Mr. Lozoraitis said that there was hardly anything in the program which would encourage reforms in the country.

Questioned about his future plans the Lithuanian Ambassador to the U.S. stated that he had not made his final decision yet. Considering the possibility to further represent Lithuania (whose) leader is Mr. Algirdas Brazauskas, the diplomat said he saw no contradiction in it.

World 'Turning Away' From Nation

OW1502173093 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1650 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The world is already turning away from Lithuania" due to Democratic Party leader Algirdas Brazauskas' victory in Lithuanian presidential elections. Lithuanian Ambassador to the U.S. Stasys Lozoraitis, who lost in the elections, made this claim at a press conference in Vilnius Monday [15 February], citing information he had received.

Lozoraitis claimed his opponent won because he "has the image of a person one knows and understands." While Lozoraitis did not present his own program until election day, he drew much attention to criticisms of Brazauskas' election program, claiming it lacked "anything reformist." Lozoraitis said he would return to Washington to continue working as Lithuanian ambassador.

In response to a question from BALTFAX on whether he will campaign again for the Lithuanian presidency, the diplomat said he would "have to think" about it.

Latest Election Results From Presidential Commission

LD1502094193 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0800 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Text] According to the latest information received by the Presidential Election Commission, 1,199,508 electors voted for Algirdas Brazauskas, and 765,704 for Stasys Lozoraitis—60 percent and 38.3 percent of all those who voted respectively.

Information has not yet been received from 12 election districts; their total number in the republic is 2,060. Among them are nine districts of the Visaginas settlement. The election results are still being verified in one district in Sakiai rayon and in one in Vilnius rayon.

According to provisional figures, Algirdas Brazauskas won the elections in 52 towns and rayons from a total of 55; Stasys Lozoraitis won by 11 percent in the city of Kaunas and by 5 percent in Kaunas rayon.

More than 2 million citizens, or 80 percent of those eligible to vote took part in the elections.

Here is a breakdown of how residents of large Lithuanian towns voted in the elections:

In Vilnius 59.4 percent voted for Algirdas Brazauskas, 38.2 percent for Stasys Lozoraitis. Kaunas residents treated Stasys Lozoraitis more favorably. In Kaunas, Algirdas Brazauskas obtained 43.9 percent of votes. In Panevezys, 50 percent voted for Algirdas Brazauskas and 48.9 percent for Stasys Lozoraitis. In Klaipeda, Algirdas Brazauskas received 54.4 percent, and Stasys Lozoraitis 43.6 percent of votes. In Siauliai, 63.4 percent voted for Algirdas Brazauskas, while 35.2 percent of those taking part in the elections voted for Stsys Lozoraitis.

Algirdas Brazauskas was supported in a very active manner in Salcininkai rayon—by almost 89 per-cent of the electors. Over 70 percent of the electors voted for Brazauskas in Pakruojis, Svencionys, Joniskis, Zarasai, Sirvintos, and Trakai rayons.

As expected, Stasys Lozoraitis had more support from Lithuanians living abroad. At this time, Stasys Lozoratis obtained the largest number of votes in Latvia and Estonia. Algirdas Brazauskas received more support in Russia. In total, Algirdas Brazauskas received 717 overseas 717, and Stasys Lozoraitis gained 853.

Preliminary results of the Lithuanian presidential elections will be announced today at the Seimas press conference.

Violations of Election Law in Regions Reported

LD1402153793 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1400 GMT 14 Feb 93

[Text] Reports have come in from the headquarters of both the presidential election teams.

Eugenijus Gentvilas, head of Mr. Lozoraitis' election team, said that there have been reports that the postal workers in the Raseiniai and Vilnius rayons did not visit some of the homes of people who wished to vote by post.

A report has come in today from the Telsiai rayon, the Dagaiciai 11th polling station—head of the election commission there is Jurate Sarkauskiene—that people were allowed to vote without producing documents confirming their citizenship. The Telsiai procurator has not been found yet; therefore, these violations are continuing. Mr. Kersulis, an observer, reported that one could purchase a voter's card at a trolleybus stop in Vilnius.

According to Mr. Gentvilas, what causes the most concern is that the statements of registration of the voting papers are not made by the city and rayon commissions, which means that the exact number of voting papers is not known, and therefore, this opens the doors for abuse. Mr. Gentvilas stressed that it was not important who was violating the election law but the fact that we are getting tied up in possible arguments that may arise after the elections. All this causes concern also because it may cause political problems after the elections.

Presidential Candidates Last Debate Reported

LD1202123693

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian at 0805 GMT on 12 February carries a live 55-minute radio debate between presidential candidates Algirdas Brazauskas and Stasys Lozoraitis.

After the presenter's introduction, interspersed with music and recorded remarks by schoolchildren about presidential elections, he asked both candidates to state their views on Lithuania's foreign policy.

Brazauskas says: "I have mentioned more than once East and West and a balanced policy. This is also envisaged in my program which, in view of its geographical location, makes Lithuanian approximate the image of a bridge, because not only Lithuania but also Western Europe and the world are interested in the Eastern market, in the Russian market. Lithuania is also interested in raw materials from the East and, of course, technology from the West. It is essential to preserve the market in the East and seek markets in the West. The same can be said about investments and business. I would say that the West is interested in Lithuania, and a significant factor here is Lithuania's relations with the East and the opportunity for the West to reach the markets of Russia and of other former Soviet republics through Lithuania.

Continuing his remarks, Brazauskas says: "The basis of our foreign policy in the East and West is a refusal to use force, and stability in relations with neighbors. It is also based, of course, on observance of treaties, independent of the political situation and of changes in government, and on the principle of the inviolability of our borders." He adds that "a necessary condition is the withdrawal of the Russian army from Lithuania, participation in various international organizations, and the use of economic aid which is coming to Lithuania in various forms."

Lozoraitis then asks: "What is the primary aim of our foreign policy? First, it is to guarantee genuine independence and guarantee that Lithuania is supplied with raw materials and thus is able to trade freely with all countries. In order to guarantee our independence, we must introduce order in our relations with our neighbors." Lozoraitis says that "these relations are not completely in order with Poland, with Belarus, Russia, and others. Everyone should be astonished that to this day we do not have a Lithuanian ambassador in Moscow, in friendly Moscow, because there are various forces but we all agree that President Yeltsin represents those democratic forces which we support, too. We do not have ambassadors in other eastern countries, too."

Continuing, Lozoraitis says: "Second, I am convinced that we must think about being admitted to the Western European community. This is a very strong community, it has 350 million people; its economic standard is very high. Thus, admission to that community must be our aim. Neutrality is dangerous to Lithuania, sometimes it does not mean anything, it is not a guarantee against various attacks. This was demonstrated by Lithuania's situation in 1939 and 1940." Lozoraitis claims that "it is better to be a member of a large community than to stand alone. Of course, we must have good relations with all states, and I would like to mention the United States here. But at present, it seems to me, we are doing too much, we are establishing diplomatic and other relations with states with which we will not have special diplomatic, trade, or other relations. This costs money because the establishment of embassies is expensive. We should be more modest, at least at the beginning. Participation in international organizations is essential."

"So far we do not have people, whether in embassies or elsewhere, who work abroad for our industry and our economy, people who reconnoiter, who help our industry, our enterprises, our agriculture."

The presenter then asks the candidates to describe their position in relations with Poland.

Brazauskas says: "I have not conducted a deep analysis of this and no one has explained to me why during the last three years we were unable to sign an interstate treaty with Poland." He claims that "one of the reasons is, of course, the situation of the Polish national minority in Lithuania. Of course, there are certain difficulties and misunderstandings about the dissolution after the putsch in Moscow of the deputies' councils in Polish rayons and the introduction of direct rule. Of course, there has not been a very good reaction in Poland to this, although both our faction and I have been raising this issue and demanding that the date of the elections be determined." Brazauskas adds that "there are some other issues linked with the Polish national minority in Lithuania: the university issue which we and representatives of the Polish organization in Lithuania have not solved. There are many different opinions, but this is a rather complicated matter and I do not think that it should hamper the establishment of normal relations with Poland. I am convinced that these relations can be established in the near future without any hindrance in solving this at the state level and in creating conditions for much better economic relations. We should organize the issues of the border. I think that Poland, which is obliged to finish the construction of a modern Kalvarija border crossing point by 1 July, will do this. This will improve our relations. A treaty on free trade is being drawn up, preliminary agreements have been made. I think that we should establish why such an important interstate treaty has not been signed yet, and endeavor to discuss the reason, talk to Polish President Walesa and to Mrs. Suchocka so that we can do this. This is my position regarding Poland and I can confirm once again that I do not see why we cannot do this in the near future."

Lozoraitis then says: "Relations with Poland are of exceptional importance to us. Above all, we must bear in mind that they are being made more difficult by certain misunderstandings of the past—I would say more than misunderstandings. The Lithuanians still remember the events concerning Vilnius and others. But we must improve these relations each day and endeavor to normalize them. As for why this has not yet been done, I cannot say, but I must say frankly that Mr. Walesa's position has sometimes not been helpful in making our efforts easier to smooth out these relations. I myself have witnessed him showing a disregard for Lithuanians and, I would say, had an inexplicably cool attitude."

Lozoraitis asks: "Is the Polish minority really a factor preventing us from reaching an agreement? First of all, the Polish minority in Lithuania is a group of Lithuanian citizens who are of Polish nationality who speak Polish and wish to preserve their culture. Thus, I think, it is not to Warsaw that we must talk about these issues, but to the minority, in other words, to a group of Lithuanian citizens who wish to have schools or a university. But here, too, a few days ago I met with representatives of the Polish minority and asked them: Are you sure, talking about the university, that there will be enough students who would like to be admitted to that university? They shook their heads. The second question I asked was: If there is such university here, will Polish students come here from Poland? They shook their heads. Thus, I think, we should not hurry with this university and we should grant the Poles the opportunity of having a university only when a sufficient number of students is found in Lithuania itself.

"There are no other problems which cannot be solved. Trade relations are easy to solve. Trade relations with Poland are very important to us. We can obtain raw materials there, coal which we can use for generating power. There are other raw materials, too. Only good will is essential with the Poles, there are no issues to prevent us from reaching an agreement with them."

Both candidates then reply to listeners' questions on issues addressed to them in writing and make brief final speeches urging the electors to vote on Sunday.

Landsbergis Warns of Dangers Posed by Baltic Fleet

LD1102204393 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1500 GMT 11 Feb 93

[Text] A statement by Vytautas Landsbergis, the opposition leader in the Seimas, on the threat by the Baltic Fleet to the Baltic states, disseminated today by the Lithuanian media, is permeated with anxiety. The statement says:

On 6 February, the newspaper KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA carried an article by (?Chernyak dealing with the withdrawal of the Russian Army from the Baltic states. It states, among other things, that the situation at the Baltic Fleet's stockpiles can be described with a single word: chaos. According to Colonel Voyevoda, head of the Baltic Fleet Procuracy, the guarding of weapons and ammunition is unsatisfactory. [Words indistinct] ammunition is rusting in the open, and the danger of explosion is increasing. A few years ago there was an explosion at a stockpile on the outskirts of Severomorsk and last year in the Pacific fleet. Observers forecast that [words indistinct] in this chain will be the Baltic Fleet.

The wish of the Baltic states to eliminate this danger in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania as soon as possible is understandable. The timetable of the withdrawal of the Russian Army from Lithuania adopted in the interstate agreement of 8 September was fulfilled by the end of last year by only 78 percent. Among the units that had to be withdrawn but has not is the 237th Coastal Defense Regiment of the Baltic Fleet.

In view of the article published in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, not only Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian, but also international inspection is essential in such units, Vytautas Landsbergis says in his statement disseminated today by the media.